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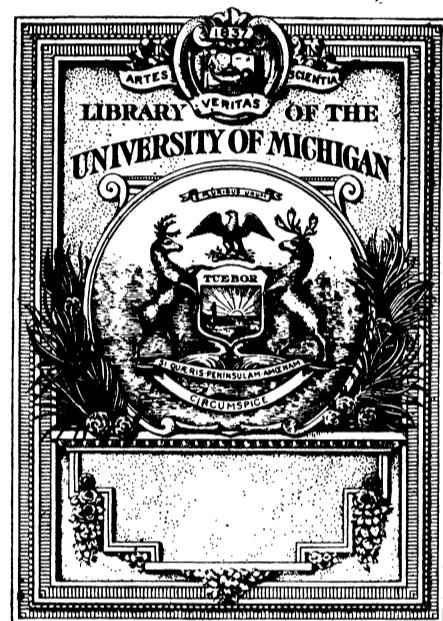
**ANECDOTA
OXONIENSIA**

**CLASSICAL SERIES
PARTS 9-11**

**COLLATIONS FROM
MS OF CICERO**

**VETUS CLUNIACENSIS
OF POGGIO
INVENTA ITALORVM**





805
Q58e

Anecdota Oxoniensia
TEXTS, DOCUMENTS, AND EXTRACTS
CHIEFLY FROM
MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BODLEIAN
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CLASSICAL SERIES—PART IX

*COLLATIONS FROM THE CODEX CLUNIACENSIS S. HOLKHAMICUS
A NINTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT OF CICERO, NOW IN
LORD LEICESTER'S LIBRARY AT HOLKHAM
WITH CERTAIN HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED SCHOLIA, THREE FACSIMILES, AND
A HISTORY OF THE CODEX*

BY
WILLIAM PETERSON, C.M.G., LL.D.

*Formerly Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford
Principal of the McGill University, Montreal*



Oxford
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1901

[UNDER the general title of *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, it is proposed to publish materials, chiefly inedited, taken direct from MSS., those preserved in the Bodleian and other Oxford Libraries to have the first claim to publication. These materials will be (1) unpublished texts and documents, or extracts therefrom, with or without translations ; or (2) texts which, although not unpublished, are unknown in the form in which they are to be printed in the *Anecdota*; or (3) texts which, in their published form, are difficult of access through the exceeding rarity of the printed copies; or (4) collations of valuable MSS.; or (5) notices and descriptions of certain MSS., or dissertations on the history, nature and value thereof. The materials will be issued in four Series:—

- I. *The Classical Series.*
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iam etate extiterunt Ex quibus nemine in liquet nominare. Vosme. ad libet
uobis tu recordamini. Nolo enim auctiōm fortis atq; illustris
uiri ne minimum quidē eratū cum maxima laude coniungere. Odat
si facere uelle multi ame sumi atq; ordinatissimi uiri p̄ditaret². q̄z ad
quoz partim nimia libertas in aduolentia partim profusa lu. ad p̄flua
xuries. magnitudo aeris alieni. sup̄m libidinis nominaeentur³. ad ames
que multis postea uirtutib⁹ obiecta⁴ aduolentia qui uellet exu-
facione defendere. At u. in d. c. celio dicit enim iam cōfidenti⁹
de studiis eis honestis quondam audeo quedam frētū uera sapia libe-
confiteri⁵. nulla luxurie repiet⁶. nulli sup̄m. nullū es alienum
nulla coniugio⁷ ac liūsteor libido⁸. q̄d quidē uicū uentreis & gu-
rgitis nō m̄ n̄ minuit etas hominib⁹ s; etiā auger. Amores at
& he delicie que uocant⁹ q̄m tremoree animo p̄ditis dūctis mo-
lestie non solent et¹⁰ maturee enim et celestis deflorestūt. Qumq;
hunc occipatū impeditus tenuerūt. Audistis cū p̄ se diceret. au-
distis antea cum accusaret. Defendendi hec causa¹¹ nō gloriādi
eloquor genia oronis. facultate. copia sententiarum uerboeum
et p̄f. Denicē p̄ se p̄sistit. etiā si industra nō alit¹² ualerit tam ipsum
eis uidebatis. qd̄ sepe etiā si industra nō alit¹³ ualerit tam ipsum
suis uicib⁹. Sz inerat h̄ me p̄p̄t beniuolentia forte fallebat rano.
et bonis artib⁹ instituta & cura & uigilus elaborata atq; stitote
iudices. eas cupiditates que obicitur celio atq; hec studia de q̄bus
dispiuto. nō facile in eodē hoīe et posse fieri enim nō potest. ut
animi libidini deditu amore desiderio. cupiditate. sepe nimia
copia¹⁴. mōpia etiā nōnūq̄m impedit. hoc q̄cqd est qd̄ nos facim⁹
indicendo quoq̄m agendo. uerū etiā cogitando possit sustinere;
An uos aliam causam ac illā potatis cur in tantis p̄mis eloquere
tanta uoluptate dicendi. tanta laude. tanta graciā. tanto honore.
tam sūt p̄uia semip̄q; fieri. qui in hoc labore uersent¹⁵. Obteren-
de sunt om̄s uoluptates. uel in quenda studia delectacionis. ludus.
ioc. comuiū. sermo pene est familiaris de secedo. Quare i
hoc genere labore siendi homines a studioq; deterret¹⁶; n̄ q̄ aut in
genia despat. aut doctrina puerilis. An hic si se isti uite dedis-
set. consulareē hominē admodū aduolens in uiditu uocauiss¹⁷.
Hic si labore fugeret. si obsteat uoluptatib⁹ teneat¹⁸; in hac acie
cotidie uersaret¹⁹. appetere inimicatas. in uiditu uocaret. subi-
ret p̄iculū capitū²⁰. ipse inspectante. P. R. tot mēses aut de salute
aliam

THE
VETUS CLUNIACENSIS OF POGGIO

BEING

*A CONTRIBUTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF CICERO
PRO SEX. ROSCIO, PRO CLUENTIO, PRO MURENA
PRO CAELIO, AND PRO MILONE*

BY

ALBERT C. CLARK, M.A.

FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

WITH TWO FACSIMILES



OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1905

[I. 10]

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH
NEW YORK AND TORONTO



Journal of the

COHEN CLINIMICUS IN HOKKAIDO

Given in Cat. n. § 1, 2.

Apparatus Cluniensis
COLLATIONS
FROM THE
CODEX CLUNIACENSIS S. HOLKHAMICUS

*A NINTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT OF CICERO, NOW IN
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NEW YORK

PREFATORY NOTE

IN sending out this volume, on the eve of my return to Canada, I desire to express my great indebtedness to the Delegates of the Press for the ready courtesy by which I was accorded the privilege of having it included in the *Anecdota Series*. To the officials of the Press, and also to the staff, I may be permitted to offer my very cordial thanks: the rapidity and the almost unerring accuracy of the typographical part of the work have greatly lightened my own labours.

I hope to complete, at no distant date, the edition of the text of the Verrine Orations which is to appear in the *Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*; and the contents of the present volume will meanwhile prepare the minds of classical scholars for the new and important features which will characterize that edition, and which ought to mark a forward stage in the constitution of the text of Books II and III.

As for the Catilinarians, I am glad that the Holkham Codex has emerged—*nunc demum e carceris sui longa nocte erutus* (p. xxxvi)—in time to give the benefit of the accompanying collation to Mr. A. C. Clark, whose forthcoming edition of the text of these speeches may now fairly be expected to be final. It is a pleasure to record my obligations to Mr. Clark and also to Mr. Geo. F. Warner, of the British Museum, for much assistance while these sheets were going through the press.

Special attention should be directed to the three facsimiles—one full-sized, the other two reduced. The first shows the recovered Cluni library-mark: the second contains one of the unpublished scholia: while the third—also with scholia—gives the first folio of the *Verrines*, the discussion of which forms so large a part of the following pages.

W. P.

September 5, 1901.

343205

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION:—

IN CATILINAM	vii
PRO LIGARIO, PRO REGE DEIOTARO	xix
IN VERREM, II. ii-iii	xxiii
THE LATER HISTORY OF THE CODEX, AND ITS IDENTIFICATION	xxx
WITH THE <i>Metellianus</i>	xxxvi
" " <i>Fabricianus</i>	xli
" " <i>Nannianus</i>	xlvi
CONCLUSION	liii
SCHOLIA CLUNIACENSIA	lv
COLLATION	1-14

FACSIMILES

CODEX CLUNIACENSIS S. HOLKHAMICUS

1. CICERO IN CAT. i. §§ 1, 2	<i>Frontispiece</i>
2. CICERO IN CAT. iii. §§ 23-25	<i>to face p. lviii</i>
3. CICERO, ii. IN VERR. 2, § 1 to § 3	" " <i>p. II</i>

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	i-lxvi
APPENDIX	lxvii-lxix
COLLATIONS	
Excerpta Montepolitiana	1-14
Cod. Paris. Lat. 14. 749	15-57

‘QUEMADMODUM mala ab Appio e Claudia gente Appiana et pira a Manlio
Manliana cognominata sunt, sic haec litterarum semina quae vestra ope et
opera e Germania in Italiam deferetis aliquando et Poggiana et Monte-Politiana
vocabuntur.’

F. BARBARUS ad POGGIUM.

INTRODUCTION

THE object of the present publication is to give a full account of what will, it is hoped, at once be recognized as the highly important results of what has been for the writer a somewhat strenuous holiday research.

Having been asked by the Delegates of the Press to undertake a critical edition of the Verrine Orations for the new series known as the *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, I thought it well to ascertain, if possible, on coming to England for the summer months, whether all the available manuscript evidence had been fully gone into. The first hint of what was to prove a piece of great good fortune came to me from my friend and correspondent, Dr. J. S. Reid, of Cambridge, who wrote to me in June, in answer to an inquiry, stating that he understood there was a codex of some importance in Lord Leicester's library at Holkham. At Oxford, Mr. A. C. Clark, of Queen's College, and Mr. F. Madan, Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian, kindly consulted for me the 'Catalogue of the MSS. at Holkham, copied from that made in 1773'¹, which showed the existence of three Cicero MSS., but gave little or no information as to their age or contents. Application was duly made to Lord Leicester, through Lord Strathcona, Chancellor of M^o Gill University, and I soon had the gratification of being informed by his Lordship's librarian, Mr. Alex. I. Napier, that there would be forwarded to the British Museum, for my

¹ See the volume in the Bodleian printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps 'Catalogus manuscriptorum in Bibliothecis Angliae, Cambriae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae,' 1833, Appendix, pp. 2-9. Mr. Madan tells me that Sir Thomas Phillipps clearly regarded all the catalogues comprised in this volume as forming 'Pars 2' of Bernard's *Catalogus MSSrum Angliae et Hiberniae*, of which the main volume (itself in two parts) was published in 1697.

use, Codex No. 29 of the Catalogue, which was understood to contain some part of the *Verrine* Orations.

The title of this MS., in the Holkham catalogue, is *Ciceronis oratio in Catilinam*, with the note *hic labor imperfectus est ad finem*. It has been rebound—not without some sacrifice of the *marginalia*—in the earlier part of what we now call the last century, and is boldly labelled on the back Saec. xiv. On an inner page some one has got nearer the truth by writing in pencil Saec. xi.

But when the codex arrived in the Museum, it needed no expert to discover that both these descriptions are altogether incorrect. The interesting history which it must now be my endeavour to unfold most certainly begins with the *ninth* century, and with the earlier part of that century. This is not a statement made on my own authority alone. Both Mr. Warner at the British Museum and Bodley's Librarian (Mr. E. B. Nicholson) are clear on the point, and the facsimiles published along with this pamphlet will furnish the best possible proof of it. The writing is of the school of Tours, and may be compared with some of the specimens in M. Delisle's *Mémoire sur l'Ecole calligraphique de Tours au IX^{me} siècle*. Paris, 1885¹.

The unfortunate thing about the MS. is that it is greatly mutilated. It is, in fact, only the shadow of its former self. But I trust to be able to show that it is, in good truth, a 'royal codex,' and that for what it contains it must henceforth be accorded the very highest rank. For the Catilinarian Orations (where however the Fourth is lamentably imperfect), it comes in front of everything else. The same may be said of the fragment of the *Pro Ligario*, and also of the *Pro Rege Deiotaro*. As to the *Verrines*, of which it will be shown that the codex originally contained the Second and Third Books, the significant fact may here be stated that it is the original from which was copied the MS. known

¹ It was not till I had carefully examined the Holkham codex, and had nearly completed the first draft of my collation, that I became aware of the fact that a facsimile of one of its folios was published over ten years ago in Chatelain's *Paléographie des Classiques Latins*. It is there numbered xxvii. a, and was probably inserted just before publication: the relative letter-press altogether escaped my notice until I was furnished with a reference, just as these sheets were passing through the press, to an Appendix on p. 28 of the Introduction, from which it appears that the MS. was formerly reported by M. Léon Dorez, who also supplied a photogravure.

as *Lagomarsinianus*, nr. 42, on which C. F. W. Müller has rightly relied for his constitution of the text of that portion of the Verrine Orations.

But these statements, surprising though they may appear, do not by any means exhaust the interest of the *Codex Holkhamicus*. It contains certain scholia,—not very important, perhaps, but possessing the merit of being altogether new. And after being traced to the great Abbey of Cluni as its original home, it can be certainly identified, as the sequel will show, with a lost codex which played an important part in the hands of the scholars of the sixteenth century, and the readings of which, when communicated to him, induced Lambinus to prepare some very considerable modifications of the text of his first edition (1565–6). For the careless manner in which these were, after his death, incorporated with his work, see pp. xl–xli.

Before proceeding to the detailed proof of the assertions just made, I shall give myself the pleasure of inserting here a palaeographical note on the codex under consideration, kindly supplied, at my request, by Mr. Geo. F. Warner, Assistant Keeper of MSS. in the British Museum. In doing so, I take the opportunity of acknowledging very gratefully the unfailing courtesy and kindness with which Mr. Warner has met the many demands on his time and patience which I have made in the course of this investigation.

‘Holkham MS. 387 in its present mutilated condition consists of thirty-nine leaves of vellum, measuring 12½ by 9½ inches.

It contains portions of speeches of Cicero as follows:—

1. ‘Orationes C[iceronis] in Catilinam,’ sc.

- (a) In Cat. I, §§ 1–5, ‘Quousque tandem—hoc quod iam pridem’ (Müller, p. 250, 31). f. 1.
- (b) In Cat. I, §§ 17–33, ‘uiderem carere me’ (Müller, p. 255, 7)—*end.*
ff. 2–6 (col. 1).

Colophon: In Lucium Catilinam Liber primus explicit.

- (c) Incipit Liber Secundus feliciter: In Cat. II, §§ 1–11, ‘Tandem aliquando—poterunt quacunque’ (Müller, p. 266, 29). ff. 6–8^b.
- (d) In Cat. II, §§ 15–29, ‘ne mihi sit inuidiosum’ (Müller, p. 268, 12)—*end.* ff. 9–12^b.

Colophon: In L. Catilinam Liber II. explicit.

(e) *Incipit Liber III. feliciter: In Cat. III, § 1, 'Rem publicam, Quirites—conseruatam ac resti'—(Müller, p. 274, 7). f. 12^b.*

(f) *In Cat. III, §§ 9-19, 'regnum huius urbis (Müller, p. 277, 29)—totius urbis atque' (p. 282, 13). ff. 13-15^b.*

(g) *In Cat. III, §§ 23-26, 'ac miserrimo interitu (p. 283, 34)—non eadem est fortuna' (p. 285, 14). f. 16.*

(h) *In Cat. IV, §§ 8-15, 'constituta esse voluerunt (p. 291, 8)—frequentia quo studio' (p. 294, 18). ff. 17-18^b.*

2. *Pro Q. Ligario, §§ 18-28, 'hoc uictore esse (p. 337, 4)—auctor fui sed tum' (p. 340, 9). ff. 19-20^b.*
 With the last nine words, 'si illi—daturum,' at the top of f. 21.
 Colophon: M. Tulli Ciceronis pro Quinto Ligario explicit.

3. *Incipit pro rege Deiotaro: (a) §§ 1-6, 'Cum in omnibus causis (p. 344, 1)—audiente et disceptante' (p. 346, 9). f. 21; (b) § 15, 'finitimi omnes liberos populos' (p. 349, 12)—end. ff. 22-27^b.*
 Colophon: M. Tulli Ciceronis pro rege Deiotaro explicit.

4. *In Verrem II, (a) §§ 1-30, 'multa mihi necessario—hoc est cum sua cohorte' (p. 209, 31). ff. 28-33^b; (b) §§ 112-117, 'ac magnificen-tissime gessit (p. 239, 34)—cupidissimumque' (p. 241, 32). f. 34; (c) §§ 157-183, 'Iamdudum enim mihi (p. 257, 14)—hoc quidem certe manifestum' (p. 266, 18). ff. 35-39^b.*

'None of the quires is perfect. They apparently consisted of eight leaves and were signed in Roman numerals at the foot of the last page. Only four signatures, however, now remain, viz. q. i. (f. 4 b), q. ii. (f. 11 b), q. iii. (f. 16 b), q. x. (f. 34 b). In the last case, two or more letters have been erased after the x. In quire i. leaves 2-5 are missing; in ii. the fifth leaf; in iii. the second, third, and seventh leaves; in iv. all except the two innermost leaves (ff. 17, 18). As the leaves now appear to be generally separate, the arrangement of the quires in the rest of the MS. cannot be determined, but at least thirty-five leaves must be lost between f. 18 and f. 35.'

'The text is in double columns of twenty-four and (from f. 34 onwards) twenty-five lines. The ruling is by a hard point on one side of the vellum'

only, on the verso in the first half of a quire, and on the recto in the other half. The first and last lines extend across both columns, the rest are kept within the vertical bounding lines.

'The writing is in Caroline minuscules of the early part of the ninth century. The open form of *a* is common, and the long letters are generally thickened at the top. Titles and colophons are in rustic capitals, alternate lines in some cases being in red. The title to *In Cat. I.* is in the margin over the top of the first column, and was no doubt inserted after the text below had been written. The words 'Orationes C' are in capitals, 'in Catilinam' in minuscules. The initials of the speeches are in capitals, only very slightly ornamented, if at all. The hand varies slightly at different points, and there is a distinct change at ff. 23-25. The marginal scholia are in a minute hand, apparently contemporary with the text. A few corrections were made by two nearly, if not quite, contemporary hands, cf. ff. 1, 3b, and 11, 19; and a considerable number, generally single letters, were made and afterwards erased, the most common being the substitution of *v* for *i* (e.g. *maximo*)¹.

'At the top of the first page is an effaced inscription, perhaps a library-mark or an owner's name, which might perhaps be read with the help of a re-agent². The lower corner of the same leaf, with some of the text, has been torn away. The binding is modern, and bears the small oval book-plate of Thomas William Coke (created Earl of Leicester in 1837).'

From the above it will be seen that the usual processes of calculation cannot be applied to a MS. in which the numbering of the quires is so defective. If the codex could be unbound again, it might be possible to draw some inferences. We know for certain, by the fortunate survival of the last line of the *Pro Ligario* at the top of the folio (21) which contains the beginning of the *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, that nothing came between to interrupt the sequence of these two speeches. But what of the *Pro Marcello*, which is generally found along with these to complete the Caesarian trilogy? In its existing condition the codex itself could tell us nothing. No inference could be based on the

¹ See p. xiii and p. lv, *note*.

² See next page.

sequence of its remaining quires. Others of these quires may now be discovered in other libraries, and it is hoped that the publication of the facsimiles in this volume may help to bring about this much to be desired result. But the MS. has not come down to us without a witness. On the top margin of the second column of the first folio, Mr. Warner's experienced eye detected, as his note will have shown, one or two letters, in regard to which he hazarded the conjecture that they would be found to form part of a library mark. He thought, in fact, that he could read *de conventu*—but nothing further. A chemical re-agent would be required to bring out the lettering, and for the use of this process permission would have to be obtained from the owner, as the codex was not the property of the Museum. This occasioned some delay, and meanwhile the MS. had been transferred, at my request, to the Bodleian at Oxford, where the Librarian, on receipt of permission from Holkham, applied the test and brought out the mark which may now be seen in the first facsimile—*de conventu Clun'*¹. A reference to Delisle's great work (*le Cabinet des Mscr.* in the *Histoire générale de Paris*) soon put the writer in possession of the 'Vetus catalogus bibliothecae Cluniacensis' (vol. ii. p. 458 sq.), made in the days of the greatest prosperity of that august foundation, under the Abbé Hugues III (1158–1161); and in that list, along with fifteen other works of Cicero, there occurs, under the number 498 (p. 478), the following entry:—'Volumen in quo continetur Cicero in Catillina[m], et idem pro Quinto Ligario, et pro rege Dejotaro, et de publicis litteris et de actione, idemque in Verrinis.' This is the *Codex Holkhamicus*, and we may now take it as certain that the great losses in the MS., as we have it now, have occurred after the *Deiotarus*, not before it. The codex did not, in all probability, contain e. g. the *Pro Marcello*, though the wording of the above title is enough to show that the enumeration of speeches in such catalogues is not always complete or accurate².

¹ I. e. *de conventu Cluniacensi*. For the designation, cp. Delisle, p. 483 *Isti sunt libri quos Donnus Yvo Abbas primus fecit fieri conventui Cluniacensi*, videlicet

² The question of the inclusion or non-inclusion of the *Pro Marcello* in the Holkham Codex will be found to be of prime importance when we come to consider its relation to the *Ambrosianus* (A). The last part of the title above quoted can be understood only as a description of the Second and Third Books of the Verrines (for *de publicis litteris* cp. ii. In *Verr. 2*, § 93).

This discovery was made almost at the conclusion of my labours, but I give my readers the benefit of it at once. We start, then, from a sure foundation,—the writing-school of Tours in the ninth century, and the Abbey of Cluni up to at least the twelfth. The narrative—so far as it can be traced—of the subsequent history of the MS. depends so much on internal evidence that an account of its constituent parts and of its leading characteristics must be given without further prelude. Taking the speeches in the order in which they occur, we have first the Catilinarian Orations.

IN CATILINAM.

ALL the letters of the alphabet did not suffice for the enumeration of MSS. which Halm employed for his critical apparatus to the text of the Catilinarians, as published in the Zürich edition of 1854. They number over forty. And all the time there was quietly reposing in an English library a codex which Halm would at once have recognized as taking precedence of them all! Halm might, in fact, have anticipated the remark which Müller makes in his *Adnotatio Critica*, after enumerating nine out of Halm's forty-five: 'ceteri onerant magis quam sublevant editoris operam.'

The labours of recent scholars, such as Alfr. Eberhard, C. F. W. Müller, and H. Nohl, have greatly simplified the problem with which Halm set himself to deal. In Laubmann's revised edition—the fourteenth—of Halm's text and explanatory commentary (Weidmann's series, Berlin, 1900) only seven MSS. are named and quoted. By general consent these have now been arranged in three classes, α , β , and γ . The first class contains only two candidates, (1) the Codex Mediceus Laurentianus, plut. 45. 2, saec. xii–xiii, known as α ; and (2) the Codex Ambrosianus, C 29 inf. saec. x, cited as A¹. What is

¹ To these might very well be added the *Vossianus* Lat. O, 2, saec. xi. (V), and Mr. Clark's *Harleianus* 2682 (II).

the relation of the *Codex Holkhamicus*, which will now be called *Ho.*, to these MSS.? The answer may be given in very definite terms. *Ho.* is the earliest extant representative of the family to which both A and a belong, and it is even conceivable that A was copied from it directly. In fact the main difference between A and a is that while A, which is a tenth-century MS., may not have had anything in front of it except the *Codex Holkhamicus*, a, which is twelfth or thirteenth century, was able to draw also from other sources, though it does not seem to have used these sources for all the omissions which will be shown below to be the inheritance transmitted by *Ho.* to the other members of the a family.

Though the constant recurrence of the symbols a A together in Müller's *Adnotatio Critica*, as well as what has just been said, might lead the reader to expect a joint treatment of these MSS., it may be well to deal with them separately. In the presentation of the evidence on which I base the statement that the characteristics which they possess in common are traceable to *Ho.* or to a common archetype, I propose to take A first, as the older of the two,—'venerandae prorsus post palimpsestos antiquitatis,' said Angelo Mai,—and as the one which shows the smallest number of variations from the Holkham Codex. A facsimile of A will be found in Chatelain, *Paléogr. class.*, Pl. xxviii, where the accompanying letter-press describes it as containing, in the order named, the De Officiis, In Catilinam, Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro Deiotaro, and then Justinian's Institutes. It was not used by Halm, though he was of course aware of its existence¹; but Baiter published a full collation of it in 1863 (*Philologus*, vol. xx. p. 338 *sqq.*), and Müller has given it a place in the first rank.

In any attempt to establish a direct relationship between two MSS., the first place should always be given to omissions—especially the omission of such words as, being absolutely necessary to complete the sense, have been supplied in the received text from other sources. In regard to the latter class, it will be necessary, in dealing with *Ho.* and A to make some anticipatory references to a. The references are throughout, as in the collation of the Catilinarian Orations appended to this volume, to Müller's text.

¹ See his very interesting pamphlet *Zur handschriftlichen Kunde der Ciceronischen Schriften*, Munich, 1850.

OMISSIONS.

p. 249, 16. *Nos autem*. For one reason or another Ho. has left a blank space for *Nos*. This blank space occurs also in A; it may be seen in the Chatelain facsimile, Pl. xxviii.

p. 268, 27. Ho. and A agree in omitting the indispensable *quem* (which occurs, indeed, only in the γ family).

p. 284, 19. *neque hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere voluerunt*. Here the writer of Ho. (and so V) omitted, from *parablepsia*, the essential words *conflagrare sed se in hac urbe*—or rather *conflagrare sed in hac urbe*, without *se*, for he proceeds to give *florere se voluerunt*, which should now be restored to the text. (See the second facsimile.) Here A may have had the benefit, directly or indirectly, of a corrector's mark in Ho. Failing to make sense of *neque hanc urbem florere se voluerunt*, he tries a diversion—quite unintelligible, however—on his own account. He transposes *florere se voluerunt* to line 15, where it appears (after *erant eius modi*), as *florere si voluerunt*. Then he allows the mutilated sentence to stop short at *neque hanc urbem*. The accounts of a's treatment of this passage are contradictory, Müller reporting that it does not omit *hanc urbem* (Halm), but transposes it to after *in hac urbe*: in any case if a contains *conflagrare* it must have had before it, as has already been suggested, something that was neither Ho. nor A, in addition to the text as contained in one or other of these codices.

p. 293, 3. *Mihi vero importunus ac ferreus qui non dolore et cruciatu nocentis suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit*.

Here Ho., again *per parablepsiam*, omits the essential words *et cruciatu nocentis suum dolorem* after *dolore*. What Ho. gives is therefore *dolore cruciatumque lenierit*: and so exactly A. But in Ho. some one, probably the corrector or the scribe himself, has inserted before *cruciatumque* the word *ac* in darker ink above the line: while another reviser has added an *m*, now erased, to *dolore*. This latter is the origin of the reading of a (and Halm's z) *dolorem cruciatumque*, while the *ac* is met with also in b i s.

p. 293, 24–26. *ne quid de summa re publica [deminueretur; hic ad evertenda rei publicae fundamenta] Gallos accersit*. Here Ho. gives *de summa rei p.*, and omits all the words enclosed in brackets: so exactly A and V, the former indicating, possibly because of an (erased) mark in Ho., a lacuna (of some thirty letters). *Rei p.* may be a mere slip for *rep.*: cp. p. 280, 18. In any case the omission must again be attributed to *parablepsia*, and this suggests that in the portion omitted the true text is *fundamenta rei publicae*, as most codd., not *rei publicae fundamenta* as a: cp. *urbem... urbe, dolore... dolorem* in the instances quoted above. Or we may suppose—with the same result—that the omission began in this passage, not with *deminueretur*, but with *re publica*, the word in front of *deminueretur*, and that *rei p.* in Ho. is rightly in place before *Gallos*. In the tradition of a *de summa rei p. dignitate minueretur* is, as Müller shows, a gloss: for the rest, its inclusion of *hic ad evertenda rei publicae fundamenta* is another indication that the copyist of a could draw, and sometimes did draw, on sources beyond either Ho. or A.

[I. ix]

c

The above instances have required elucidation and discussion. The following are however self-evident, and furnish additional proof not only of the fact that A and its successors are derived from Ho. (or from a common archetype), but also, in at least some cases, of the view here advanced that the recension given in Ho. A V must have been made the basis of the text of a:—

p. 249, 9. *tuam* om. Ho. A (a may easily have supplied this word either from its own tendency to interpolate, or from another source, just as it does the more indispensable *nos* in line 16). V also omits *tuam*¹.

p. 50, 21. *me* (before *non dissolutum*) om. Ho. A a V.

p. 256, 21. *Catilina* om. Ho. A V a. This may be an interpolation such as are undoubtedly *aris* 261, 3, and *homine* 265, 15, neither of which occurs in Ho. A V a.

p. 255, 15. *odit ac* om. Ho. A V a. These words are supplied in H (Harl. 2682).

p. 257, 19. *si id feceris* om. Ho. A V. In Ho. there was nearly another instance of *parablepsia*: the scribe originally omitted, after *perge in exilium*, l. 19, all the words that follow down to *si in exilium*, l. 20, but afterwards supplied them in the margin, without, however, *si id feceris* (which is omitted also, by the way, in the Codex Stephani: see p. xvii).

p. 257, 32. *tuorum* om. Ho. A V a. It occurs in H β γ .

p. 258, 12-14. After *non solum* both Ho. and A V omit all the words from *ad obsidendum* as far as *non solum* in line 14.

p. 258, 18. *tum* om. Ho. A. It occurs only in a, among extant MSS., but receives some support from Diomedes (*profectum cum*).

p. 258, 25. *diligenter* om. Ho. A V a.

p. 265, 28. *esse fateatur* om. Ho. A V β . These words are by no means indispensable, but they occur in Hay. Similarly 266, 5 *deseruit* occurs neither in Ho. nor in A, but in a only, and is quite probably an interpolation.

p. 266, 24. *intus insidiae sunt* om. Ho. A V.

p. 269, 9. *An* om. Ho. A V.

p. 278, 13. *est* om. Ho. A V a β : it occurs in γ only.

p. 280, 24. *C.* om. Ho. A a, and all except γ .

p. 281, 28. *nutu atque* om. Ho. A V a.

p. 293, 17. *suum* om. Ho. A (with all MSS. except β and Schol.).

p. 293, 29. *Cassio* om. Ho. A a (with all MSS. except a few γ).

p. 294, 4. *sunt* om. Ho. A a (with all except a few γ).

It is with some hesitation that I have included in the above, as omissions in Ho. A., such readings as *esse fateatur*, *nutu atque*, and (258, 18) *tum*. If they depended on a alone (like *deseruit* 266, 5) they might very well be regarded as interpolations. It will be suggested below that editors have attached an exaggerated value to a, mainly, I presume, because it embodies certain merits which it can now be

¹ The references to V (eleventh century) have been furnished to me by Mr. A. C. Clark.

proved that **a**, and the family to which it belongs, derived from Ho. On this view, the reading of *ita ut dixi* 255, 33 cannot be considered certain: Ho. and A agree in *ut dixi*, and are followed by *b i s* and *γ*. Immediately below, (255, 35) *ipse* may be an interpolation: it does not occur in Ho. V b. In estimating the weight of **a**'s authority for these last readings, it ought not to be overlooked that **a** was capable of giving *urbem totam* for *me totam* immediately above (255, 26).

So far, however, my object is not to deal in the meantime with **a**, but only to prove that A derives directly or indirectly from Ho. The full collation appended to this volume will be found to resemble very closely that supplied by Baiter for A in *Philologus*, vol. xx. (1863, pp. 338 sqq.). Among many striking coincidences are the following: 255, 16 *iam diu nihil te* (Ho. A *V soli*): *ibid.* 20 *existit*: *ibid.* 24 *ad vincendas*: 256, 7 *ad custodiendum te*: *ibid.* 12 *habire* (*h erasum Ho.*): *ibid.* 19 *de turba*: 257, 4 *colligas*: 258, 30 *quam spectari*: 260, 3 *sese*: 261, 3 *ac tectis*: 278, 1 *videri*: 279, 17 *se ipsi eviderentur*: 280, 23 C. V. (for *clarissimo viro*): 281, 1 *erat et*: *ibid.* 30 *videretur*: 284, 36 *postulabo*: 292, 6 *levando a se*: *ibid.* 34 *praebebo* (*prebebo Ho.*): 293, 23 *virii clarissimi*. The discrepancies are very unimportant. I have noted only 249, 19, where A omits *istam* (written in above the line in Ho.), and (probably on the same ground) *et grave* 250, 1: *tamen* *ibid.* 15. Cp. *vero* 249, 23. The genuine reading *potentissimam* (273, 30) is given in Ho. but dropped in A¹. Other slight divergences are 270, 9 *prediis* Ho., *praesidiis* A: 291, 31 *decerit*, Ho. a, *decreverit* A. At 263, 30 Ho. wrongly gives *sed cum viderem rem quidem omnibus vobis etiam tum reprobata si illum*, &c.: A reproduces exactly, as far as *reprobata* (over which there is again a mark by the second hand in Ho.), and failing to make sense of this leaves a blank space. At 280, 7 Ho. gives *est usus* *q* (i. e. *Quirites*²): A writes *est ususque*. At 272, 5 Ho. closes a sentence at *libido* and

¹ At 250, 15 **a** gives *huiusce*, while A reads *cius*. Ho. is mutilated here, but from a careful calculation of the spaces corresponding, it would appear that there is not sufficient room for *huiuscemodi* · sc. · Ho. must have had *huiusmodi*, or *ciusmodi* · sc.

² The vagaries of the codd. in regard to the insertion or omission of *Quirites* are such that it may be well to make a special report of the tradition of Ho. in certain places. At p. 263, 10 the received text gives *prostratus Quirites*: here Ho. at first wrote the word *quirites* out at length, but afterwards dotted every letter. A correction appears above, the second hand having sought to restore the word by writing *quir*: for *prostratusque est* and other variants see Müller's critical note. At 263, 35 the first hand in Ho. gave *hostemq: quam* and then

begins another with a capital letter *Hinc denique*: this recurs in A. At 259, 33 Ho. has *imperiti si*, quite correctly: but the termination *-ti* is written in a way that makes it somewhat resemble an *o*: here A gives *imperiosi*, and so also V and the 'Codex Stephani.' Again there is the important passage 280, 33 where the (approximately) correct reading must now be credited to Ho., which gives *somnium nec C. Cassialipes nec, &c.* The writer of A, failing to understand *alipes* (=adipes), left a blank space, but wrote the word in the margin as a puzzle for his readers. It should be stated that here again there is a mark (probably by the second hand) over *alipes* in Ho.

Here is another remarkable coincidence. Before the words *Ad huius studium* which occur at the commencement of a sentence in Cat. i. § 26 (Müller, p. 258, 11) Baiter reports from A the unintelligible *K. ad studium*, just as Halm had already done for a (adding 'hinc forte in Lg. 53 *Cateline ad*'). In Ho. there occurs here, inserted above the line in the hand of the copyist, a mark in the form of a K, and it is this mark which A has included in his text, and which has been transmitted also to the text of a. I may note that the same mark occurs in Ho., again above the line, after *revocarit* 257, 16¹.

To this striking coincidence must be added the evidence of the scholia. These will form the subject of a separate paragraph, and it may suffice to state here that certain scholia quoted in the fifth volume of Orelli's first edition (pp. 370 sqq.) from the *Ambrosianus* (A)

superpunctuated the *q*: later revisers have partially erased the letter. A follows faithfully with a *q*, which does not however appear in a. It takes the opportunity of giving *ego Q.* (i. e. *Quirites*) *hostem*. At 282, 1 after *hoc certe* there is now an erasure in Ho. which conceals a *Q* or *q*: and it is therefore a later hand that is responsible for the elimination of *Quirites* in this place. At 266, 28 Ho. has at the end of a line *perditorumq*: and, after an erasure, *sanari* at the beginning of the next. In the blank left by this erasure, before *sanari*, stood originally a *Q*, over which the second hand wrote, as frequently elsewhere (see p. xiv, note) *quae*. His correction is also erased, but we can see that the original text in Ho. must have stood *perditorum quae Quirites sanari poterunt*. There is an erased *q* above the line also at 269, 25 = *reliquis omnibus Quirites*: on the other hand there is no sign in Ho. of 'Quirites' at 266, 33, though it occurs shortly afterwards at 267, 1 and again at 273, 9.

¹ It should not escape observation that both these passages are highly scurrilous in tone. Now while K often stands for *Kaput*, the Dictionary of Abbreviations gives it also as a contraction for 'kalumpnia.' Is it possible that Prof. Beesley was anticipated long ago, and that Catiline had his supporters among Cicero's own readers? I include in this suggested explanation the puzzling *in praetexta calumnia* ii, § 4. Here too the resentment indicated by writing *kalumnia* in the margin may have taken the form of a simple K in later times.



occur also in the older *Holkhamicus* (Ho.). We shall find too that owing to careless copying, at times, on the part of the writer of A, the text of these scholia has presented difficulties in certain places, which it is now possible to eliminate entirely by the help of Ho. This does not explain, of course, how it was that the scribe of A began to incorporate the scholia in his recension only with the Fourth Catilinarian: the result being that those which occur in Ho. for the preceding orations are now published for the first time.

Taking it now as established that there is a distinct and definite connexion between A and Ho., we may now advance to certain further conclusions. One of the remarkable features of the Holkham Codex is the number of alterations which were, at a very early date, carefully inserted in the text, and afterwards as carefully deleted. I say, at a very early date, for it will be shown to be probable that it was before the deletions were made that A (or some intermediate MS.) was copied from Ho., and A is a tenth-century codex. It may well be, in fact, that the alterations referred to were made in Ho. when the first copy of it was taken.

The most common of these alterations was the uniform substitution, throughout Ho., of the superlative in *-umus* for that in *-imus*. This was done by inserting a *v* in every case above the *i*: e.g. 269, 3 *honestissima*, 4 *inpudentissima*, 14 *stultissimum*. These *v*'s are now everywhere erased, but the point to be noted is that wherever they occur in Ho. the Ambrosianus (A) generally shows the more archaic form *-umus*. A similar change was made throughout in gerunds and gerundives, *-endus* being uniformly altered to *-undus*, and the corresponding form appearing in A: e.g. 255, 23 *neglegendas* Ho., *negleguendas* A: *ibid.* 25 *fercunda* H, *scrunda* A: 259, 12 *pertimescenda* Ho., *-unda* A: 281, 3 *conficiendas* Ho., *-undas* A; 282, 2 *praetermittendum neque relinquendum* Ho., *-und.* A: 272, 26 *constituendis* Ho., *-undis* A: 265, 32 *perferendis* Ho., *-undis* A: 279, 36 *incendendae* Ho., *-undae* A. In the same way *vultus*, *vulnus*, and their forms are generally changed to *voltus*, *volnus*, &c., by the insertion of an *o* (now erased) above the line: they appear in their altered form in A. Cp. also *maximus* Ho., *maxumus* A (e.g. 273, 9 where, however, *minimo* is allowed to stand in l. 10): *libido* Ho., *libido* A: *existimare* Ho., *existumare* A: *optimum* Ho., *optumum* A. When we remember the early date at which these changes were made,

a certain interest will be found to attach to what at first sight might appear to be mere orthographical detail: cp. especially 258, 5 *nancius* Ho., *nactus* A: 259, 28 *imminent* Ho., *inminent* A. The facsimile accompanying this volume will show that the hand which subsequently erased these alterations in Ho. was no respecter of places: all changes made on the original text, whether good or bad, were indiscriminately eliminated by him¹. It looks as though word had gone forth from some authority that what was no doubt recognized as an exceptionally pure tradition of Cicero's text should be restored to its original condition. Even certain marks over a letter which had been introduced to indicate the beginning of a new sentence were included in the general deletion: as well as various other signs written in as a help to readers—e.g. for the better division of words, or as marks of punctuation. For an example of the deletion of a right correction, reference may be made to the second facsimile, where, in the third line of the second column (284, 11) it will be seen that Ho. originally gave *demutatione* for *diminutione*. The erasure above the line must conceal the letters *iminut*, and A gives *diminutione*: cp. on *huius urbis*—Collation 292, 1. Similar improvements made in Ho. which must have been available to copyists before their erasure are the following:—278, 24 *que sibit*, corrected to *quaesivit* and the correction subsequently erased²: forms like this always suggest the difficulty which the writer of Ho. experienced in dealing with what was no doubt a very ancient original: 291, 26 *feratis et* (= *ferat. Is et*): 270, 22 *patrem inertiam*, corrected to *partim inertia* (A) and the correction erased. At 277, 31 *Cinna* ends one line and the next begins with *mantese* (sic); the

¹ In regard to the different hands in Ho., I take it that there was first, after the librarius himself, a *corrector*—who may have been the librarius—then the writer of the Scholia (see next note): next, what may be called the second hand, because of the frequency of his corrections; and last the eraser. The alterations in the superlatives, &c., are by the 'second hand,' and I incline to connect his operations with the attempt to secure a correct Latin script, such as we know the Tours school prized. He would not be so likely to take from an archetype corrections like *quaesivit* for *que sibit* (278, 24), and it is the hand which makes these corrections that also exhibits such fastidiousness in regard to more archaic forms. See, however, note on p. lv.

² This will be understood to be the explanation of the contracted formula *corr. del.* which will be found to occur constantly in the appended collation: e.g. 255, 30 (for *discede*) *discē* Ho. *corr. del.* Only one or two of these corrections seem to have escaped erasure, e.g. on fol. 8 v., where a Q. in the original has *-uae* written above it in a hand which seems to be that of the writer of the scholia: the same thing has occurred, but with erasure, at 278, 28, *per q*; Ho., *per quae* A. For other survivals see fol. 16 v. (285, 7) *inveterescent*: fol. 17 (291, 26) *Cūris R^ē*.

m was sub-punctuated and transferred to the previous line, but the correction marks were afterwards erased. The same thing has happened at 278, 29 where *nihilne se* and *cum esset* were divided by the end of a line: cp. *non nemulta*, 2 in Verr. ii. p. 207, 21. At 280, 1 *in* is wrongly omitted in the text of Ho., and an erasure conceals its addition above the line: A has it. At 280, 19 Ho. gives *trans actum*, and the mark made by the corrector to join the two in one has been deleted. Cp. also the following:— 269, 21 *expectant*, with *s* above the line *eras.* (*exspectas* A): 270, 11 *sit is*, with *i sup. lin. eras.* (*sit iis* A): *ibid.*, 27 *acres*, with *i s. l. eras.* (*acris* A): 271, 21 *magnopere*, with a second *o s. l. eras.* (*magno opere* A): 274, where (besides altering all the superlatives from *-imus* to *-umus*), the revising hand has super-punctuated the last *i* of *imperii* (*imperi* A): cp. 268, 36 *consilii* Ho., *consili* A: 277, 34 *capitolii* Ho., *capitoli* A. At 281, 21 Ho. gives *quod adfuit*: the reviser deleted the *d* in *quod*, and ran *quo ad* together to make *quoad fuit*, the reading of A. A distinctly wrong correction, adopted by A, is *popinam* 264, 4, where an *m* has been added above the line in Ho.: cp. *vere amini* Ho. (for *vere amini*) 293, 30, *vere animi* A. The reading *putas* (269, 9) finds support from Ho.: the copyist at first wrote *putes*, but himself (or the corrector?) altered the reading to *putas* by writing an *a* above the line. Then the revising hand came in and restored the *-es*, which is, like all these erased corrections, the reading of A. Immediately after *putas*, *An* is missing in Ho. A, but there is some sign of an erasure *sup. lin.* by the original hand in Ho., and this probably conceals the missing particle.

The fact that the writer of A was so careful and accurate will be regarded as of importance, especially for those parts of the Catilinarians which are no longer extant in Ho. It is only occasionally, and in very obvious cases, that he ventures on a correction *suo Marte*: thus, at 263, 36 *qui* appears as *quod*: the unintelligible *mutu* (272, 16) he corrects to *motu* (so β : al. *metu*). *Num* (281, 17) had already been corrected to *nunc* by the second hand in Ho. But for the rest he adheres very closely to the text of his original.

From this it will appear that too much weight ought not to be attached, as against Ho. A, to a, the *Codex Mediceus Laurentianus*, xlvi. 2. This MS. is described by Bandinius as 'facile princeps,' and 'familiae optimae choragus,' but these terms will now have to be

transferred to Ho. It was mainly on **a** that Halm relied for the text of the Zürich edition, but he afterwards introduced some modifications from the **β** family in the text which he published later for the Weidmann series. These have been eliminated in later recensions¹, partly by Müller, and partly by Halm's editor, G. Laubmann, and the emergence of Ho. will now furnish complete justification for their procedure. For Ho. now takes its place as the head of the **a** family, and **a** must consequently forfeit the primacy assigned to it by Müller and others. In stating this position, I do not of course forget that antiquity is not everything, and that the fact that they do not occur in Ho. or A does not dispose of the additions and variants found in such a codex as **a**.

As has already been indicated, the writer of **a** was capable of making slight divergences from the text of the family to which his codex essentially belongs, either by changes for which he himself must be held responsible, or by modifications introduced from some other MS. At 281, 2 Ho. and A agree in giving *neque lingua neque manus*, and it is not clear that the reading of **a** *neque manus neque lingua* is anything but a gratuitous transposition. Similarly at 269, 28 *maxima multitudine* **a** is no improvement upon *maximam multitudinem* Ho. A *et cett.*: any more than is *patefacta* for *patefactis* at 280, 20. In the same way at 291, 26 *set* is an inferior reading (for *feratijs et*): traces of it are found in an erased correction in Ho. At 255, 16 *diu de te nihil* is the sort of perversion which **a** shares with inferior MSS. That it could draw from sources not available to A may be seen from the discussion of 293, 25: p. ix, *supra*. But *urbem totam* at 255, 26 and *practorem prona mors* 250, 12 are enough to remind the critic that **a** is by no means to be relied on implicitly. And the merits claimed primarily for **a** by Müller in about a score of places cited in his *Adnotatio Critica*, p. lxv, are all found in Ho., with the exception of the doubtful omission of *vero* 249, 23 (*u*, Ho. om. A V), of *te* 256, 7, and of the equally doubtful insertion of *deseruit* 266, 5.

Before summing up the general results of this investigation, so far as the Catilinarians are concerned, I wish to make a brief reference

¹ Thus at 263, 1 the Weidmann edition now gives, with Müller, *cum est ex urbe depulsus*, and at 278, 34 *propter vim sceleris manifesti atque deprehensi*—readings which are confirmed and certified by the Holkham Codex.

to certain other MSS. And first as to *Harley* 2682, so fully described by Mr. A. C. Clark in a preceding number of this series. After carefully examining the readings from this codex given by Mr. Clark on pp. xxv–xxix of his *Anecdoton*, I can re-affirm the correctness of his judgment that it is, for the Catilinarians, a member of the α family 'into which a number of glosses and corrections have been introduced from β and γ '.¹ Its best points it owes, like the other members of the α family, to the tradition of Ho.

Many coincidences exist between Ho. and the readings cited from the 'Codex Car. Stephani' under the sign ς by Halm, and also by Müller, e.g. 272, 33 *spectauit*, 281, 20 *inventa conphensa est*. But there are also divergences, such as the omission in ς of *facinus* 255, 20, of *quam multos qui propter stultitiam non putarent* 263, 24, and readings like *illud etiam* ibid. 37 (for *illud* Ho.) which, if correctly reported, would exclude any theory of the identity of the two Codd.² But as I have mentioned C. Stephanus, I may refer at once to the discussion which is to follow as to the identity of one of the codices which Stephanus had at command (the *liber Nannii*) and the Holkham MS. See p. xlvi.

What then—it may be asked by way of conclusion—is the result to the text of the Catilinarian Orations of the emergence, at this date, of the *Codex Holkhamicus*?

In the first place, Ho. carries the tradition of the text between one or two centuries further back than formerly, and inferentially much further back still. For there are indications—such as the copyist's difficulty in breaking up words correctly, and the appearance here and there of stray capitals—which suggest the probability that the writer of Ho. was copying from a very ancient original. If so, we have the satisfaction of knowing that the copy he made is a very faithful copy.³

¹ In passing, I may however again remark that the reading *potentissimamque* at the end of the Second Catilinarian must no longer be treated as an accretion from an inferior family: all three superlatives *pulcherrimam*, *florentissimam*, *potentissimamque* (273, 30) are clearly given in Ho., and the last should now be restored to the text.

² The same may be said of β . 'lectiones a P. Pithoeo ad margines exempli ed. Lambinianae a. 1581, quod exstat in bibl. Heidelbergensi, adscriptae': cp. Halm, *Zur handschriftlichen Kunde der Ciceronischen Schriften*, p. 22.

³ How exceedingly scrupulous was the writer of Ho. may be inferred from the condition of his first folio. There is a great rent in it which he has patched up with care, and in writing e.g. *Mario* (250, 9) on the *verso* across this tear he repeats the letters which the rent in his parchment

Secondly, the Holkham Codex certifies in the main, with the added authority of a ninth-century codex, the text of the Catilines which has been arrived at by the efforts of recent scholarship. A good deal of the work of criticism would have been simplified if Ho. had become available at an earlier date. A comparison of its pure tradition and that of a fourteenth or fifteenth-century codex will give additional point to Baiter's maxim, 'Interpolatis codicibus Italicis nulla fides haberi potest.' Editors must, in fact, make Ho. henceforth the primary basis for the constitution of the text.

To test this statement it will not be enough to examine the appended collation only. That collation contains only *divergences* from Müller's text, which must be compared throughout. The fact will then be apparent that Ho. now becomes the most ancient authority for several readings which editors have restored to the text as the result of processes of inference. For example Ho. is the only known codex which gives the right reading *duint* p. 257, 6 (*donent A, duent a*). This unique reading is quoted from the 'Codex Cuiacii,' and its occurrence in Ho. will be again referred to (pp. xxxii–iii) when I come to discuss the later history of the MS.

The general purity and correctness of the tradition which Ho. embodies, and also of its general orthography (in spite of certain minor inconsistencies), may be illustrated by the statement that for a whole page of Müller's text, e.g. p. 271¹, *vita* for *vitae* in line 6 is the only important difference between the MS. and the printed book.

Thirdly, it removes all doubt as to the superiority of the *a* family, of which it now becomes the head, to MSS. of any other class.

Fourthly, where it is itself defective, we now know that we must look to its direct descendant A to supply what is missing. This consideration may lead future editors to revise the following among

has disjoined (*a* and *r*) above the line, so that there shall be no mistake. So with *permissa resp.* immediately below; the last *p.* has nearly been carried away in the rent, but is carefully repeated *sup. lin.*

¹ As this page has been selected, I may cite an interesting example of depravation which falls within its limits. In line 33 Ho. gives *senatu, equitibus R' urbe.* Here 'R' (i.e. *Romanis*) is added in the same hand above the line, and as part of the text. This may help to explain the variations quoted by Halm *R. P. b.* and then *populo Romano e z, Romanis om. I.g. 53, R (om. populo) B a c s, Rom. (om. populo) i, I.g. 50.*

other places, wanting in Ho., where undue weight has been given to the authority of *a* as against A: 251, 25 *contentum te A, te contentum a*; ibid. 32 *mecum tandem A, tandem mecum a*; 252, 19 *interfecturos esse A, interfecturos a*; 253, 36 *vacue fecisses A, vacuum fecisses a*; 254, 21 *nihil moliris om. A*; ibid. 31 *tot ex tuis A, totque tuis a*; 295, 3 *suam patriam esse A, suam esse patriam a*.

PRO LIGARIO, PRO REGE DEIOTARO.

The emergence of the Holkham Codex solves certain problems, quite recently discussed by scholars, in regard to the text of two at least of what are known as the Caesarian Orations. Some reasons have been adduced in an earlier part of this volume—founded partly on the old catalogue of the Cluni library, and partly on the present condition of the codex itself—for the belief that it did not contain the Pro Marcello: if this view be correct, such MSS. as may have been directly copied from Ho. must have derived the speech in question from some other source. Of the Pro Ligario only a fragment remains, though from what we now know of the history of the tradition of the text of this, as indeed of all the orations contained in Ho., an offer might safely be made to reconstruct the missing portions from the extant fragment, almost as unerringly as Cuvier did with his skeleton. The Pro rege Deiotaro is fairly complete.

In the preceding pages the relation of the *Ambrosianus* (A) to the Holkham MS. has, I hope, been clearly demonstrated for the Catilinarian Orations. It remains the same for the *Ligarius* and the *Deiotarus*. The statement must again be advanced that Ho. takes precedence of every extant codex, and stands at the head of what is known as the *a* family, consisting of the *Ambrosianus* (A), Harley 2682 (H), and the Cod. Vossianus (V).

It is in regard to the second of these MSS., so fully known to us now through the scholarly labours of Mr. A. C. Clark, that I now proceed to report certain further results. In the preface to his new

edition of the *Caesarianae* in the *Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, Mr. Clark says: 'Ex a optimus est H, A et V paene gemelli sunt': cp. his *Ancedoton*, p. xv, where he states that H is 'throughout a *gemellus* of A, but independent of it.' Acting on this view, Mr. Clark has, quite rightly, attached more importance to H for the Caesarian speeches than he did for the *Catilines*, where H has obviously been contaminated by a number of readings from MSS. of the β and γ groups.

The explanation of the relationship thus discerned as undoubtedly subsisting, for the Caesarian speeches, between A and H (I say nothing in the meantime of the *Vossianus*, which is of the eleventh century) is that H is, like A, directly or indirectly derived from Ho. In fact, it may very well be that the unknown codex to which Mr. Clark alluded when he said that the writer of H 'had before him an ancient MS.' now comes to light in the MS. at Holkham.

The first discovery which confirmed my impressions of the value of Ho. was that certain readings on the strength of which Mr. Clark proved the identity of H with the *Coloniensis Basilicanus* occur also in Ho. For example, in the *Pro rege Deiotaro*, § 36, Ho. gives quite correctly *sustulcrat*, and thus a reading which was displaced in the later tradition by *distulerat*, *sustinuerat*, or *subierat*, and first recovered for the received text from the *Coloniensis* (i.e. Harl. 2682), is now further certified by the authority of a ninth-century codex. The same may be said of *Pro Ligario*, § 24, *quamquam quid facturi fueritis dubitem*; and again at *Pro Deiotaro*, § 40, Ho. gives *et quoniam*, a reading which (repeated, like the others, in H) comes very near the correct *equonam*.

Mr. Clark has shown that H was not copied from A, by referring to the omissions in A: e.g. *Pro Deiotaro*, § 25, *tibi porro inimicus*, and again, § 38, *tum non dubito*; *Pro Ligario*, § 26, *constantiam*,—all of which are supplied in H. The reason why the writer of H was able to supply these readings is that they are *not* omissions in his original, which was either Ho. or a copy of Ho.

First with regard to A, the same account of it as has been already given for the *Catilines* holds in regard to the Caesarian speeches. For these also A is a derivative of Ho., which has no omission that does not recur in A. As I must pass on to H, I shall only add the

further statement here that in the *Pro Ligario*, § 24, Ho. has *nontra offendam*, with *ul* written in (and afterwards erased) above *tra*. The writer of the *Ambrosianus* may have had the benefit of this correction before it was erased (see p. xiv): he reproduces the reading quite exactly, while H gives (with V) *non ultra* in the text. Again *sorsq* in Ho. (Lig. § 23, 4) is wrongly replaced by *forsque* in A: and A follows Ho. in omitting *honos* (§ 27, 13).

Further proof that H is an offspring of Ho. must be given in some detail. First as to the omissions. Those which occur in Ho. are the following (I give the references now to the sections and lines of Mr. Clark's edition): every one of them is repeated in H.

Pro Deiotaro, § 27, 9 *amicitias res rationes* om. Ho. H, *ibid.* § 34, 1 *Solus, inquam, es C. Caesar cuius in om.* Ho. H. So also *Pro Ligario*, § 19, 15 *Caesar*: *ibid.* § 25, 25 *a* (before *quibusdam*): *ibid.* § 26, 9 *cum* (before *crudelitate*): *ibid.* § 27, 13 *honos*: *Pro Deiotaro*, § 4, 9 *C.* (before *Caesar*): § 27, 11 *etiam, et*: § 28, 21 *cuncta*: § 42, 7 *se and munera*.

Among other conclusive resemblances between Ho. and H are the following:—*Pro Ligario*, § 18, 12 *iustu cretur* Ho. (originally *iustu ueretur*), *ius tu ueretur* H: § 19, 24 *re* Ho., *RE* H: § 20, 2 *inquietus* : § 23, 2 *nobis Caesar*: § 27, 17 *ne in R S*: *Pro rege Deiotaro*, § 18, 15 *quicquid cum ē* (the true reading here is perhaps *quicquid quod cum est factum*): § 19, 29 *committeret*: § 21, 18 *in cubiculo male dixisti*: § 23, 14 *coegit*, 15 (for *veri simile sit aut*) *verisiles itant* Ho., *ueris si lesit aut* H: § 29, 3 *patris* (for *patri*): § 31, 5 *confero*: *ibid.* 29 *TR P L M*: § 35, 14 *extremam partem causae* (undoubtedly the right reading): § 36, 6 (for *de se senatus imminutum*) *desen imminutum*¹ Ho., *desensem minutum* H: § 38, 23 *solus* (for *solum*): § 40, 12 *movere*. The two codd. agree even in the wrong division of sentences: e.g. *Pro Deiot.* § 42, 29 both have—*probati exquire de Blesamio. Nunc quid ad regem contra dignitatem tuam (suam Ho.) scripserit. Hieras, etc.* In § 36, 5 the reason for the omission of *populi Romani* in H may be that the librarius of H wrongly supposed the letters P R to have been superpunctuated in Ho.: the same signs occur again in § 37, 16 (this time H does not omit), but not in § 36, 26 (*populo Romano*). The real object,

¹ An erasure over *sen* in Ho. suggests that the reading may have stood in its predecessor *DESENIM* or *deSENIM*, i.e. *de se sen*. (i.e. *senatus*) im. Cp. also in Cat. p. 266, 10 (Müller), where *ebrios* may = *EBRIOS*, or *ebriOS*, i.e. *ebriosos*.

however, of what might be taken for superpunctuation here is to mark the genitive case, *-i*.

The writer of H is not so slavish a copyist as to be unable to correct an occasional error, e.g. Pro Deiotaro § 35, 21, where *assequi* in Ho. is rightly analyzed into *a se qui* in H. Similarly at § 25, 20 *potuisset, regem, &c.*, Ho. gives, for *potuisset, et inposuisset*, which H makes into *et potuisset*. Here again the (erased) line occurs in Ho., marking a corruption (cp. in Cat. 284, 19: 293, 24). In breaking up such a conglomeration as *fugitivoremale* in Ho. (*fugitivi ore male*, Pro Deiot. § 28, 16) the librarius of H may have had the benefit of certain marks inserted at an early date to guide readers of Ho., but afterwards erased. Similarly § 35, 20 Ho., with points erased, *neque seatemultatum: neque se a te multatum* H. On the other hand he fails to make *negat umquam* out of *negatumquam* (§ 42, 4), and writes *negatum quam*. At § 21, 27 the writer of H tries to improve Ho.'s *de absente se iudicare* into *de absentes diudicare*. At § 19, 28 H has the wrong form *retine*, probably because the writer was unable to make up his mind as between *retineri* (Ho.) and *retinere*. Moreover the copyist of H has some errors of his own: e.g. Pro Deiotaro, § 33, 29 *estate* (*actate*) out of *cate* Ho. (for *ea te*): ibid. § 38, 30 *scitote* for Ho.'s *sciote* (*scio te*): ibid. § 34, 2 where he has inadvertently dropped *liberi* after *nos*. This should accordingly be restored in Mr. Clark's text, and a study of the appended collation will show other places where the Holkham Codex must now be allowed to interpose the weight of its authority in favour of certain other readings which have not commended themselves to the Oxford editor. I shall only add that any one who wishes for further proof of the complete identity of the tradition of the text as found in Ho. and in H, may compare my collation of Ho. with the readings quoted from H by Mr. Clark in his *Anecdoton*, pp. xxxiv–xxxix. The only divergences of any importance are Pro Ligario, § 20, 3 *seniorem* H *sen idem* Ho.: § 28, 24 *uiuit* for *ut fit*¹. Mr. Clark's conclusion is thus stated (p. xxxi) 'H A preserve the genuine tradition of the archetype,

¹ Pro Lig. § 24, 10 is interesting: here Ho. at first wrote *in africā in prouinciam* (and so A), but this was corrected by the same hand to *in africām prouinciam*. H gives *in prouinciam africām*. The reading of H *istum illuc isti* (Pro Deiot. § 19, 1) may be explained by the fact that in Ho. *istum* is subpunctuated, *illuc istum isti*: while at § 17, 1 *venisse domum* in Ho. (with probably an erased *et* before *domum*) rightly becomes *venisses et domum* in H.

the *disiecta membra* of which are to be found in the other MSS. Only rarely are they inferior to either of the subsidiary groups (e. g. 1215, 17) both of which are deflections from the original.'

This may be accepted, with the added information now that the first parent of both A and H is very probably the Holkham Codex.

THE SECOND (AND THIRD) BOOKS OF THE VERRINE ORATIONS.

It is not the destiny of many MSS. to be of first and well-nigh final authority for every portion of their contents. When copies came to be multiplied in later centuries, recourse was had to various originals; and so it happens that many codices which we now possess are composite in their origin and character, and often possess a different degree of authority for each of their constituent parts. This has already been shown to be the case with, for example, Harl. 2682, where (to say nothing of its other contents) the copyist used the pure recension contained in Ho. for the Caesarian speeches, whereas his Catilines are contaminated from members of an inferior class. But the Holkham Codex is equally authoritative in all its parts. It was copied, in all probability, from an ancient original, the value of which was known to those who had the copy made; and the fact that it was drawn upon, directly or indirectly, by the copyists of the *Ambrosianus* (A) and of Harl. 2682 goes to prove that the tradition of its inherited value and importance must have been cherished and kept alive in the famous monastery in which it has been shown to have found its original home.

Only parts of the Second Book of the Verrines survive in the Holkham Codex,—little more than one third of the whole: the Third Book is entirely lost. Yet it is possible to make two statements about it which will be considered of the highest importance and interest:—

(1) The *Codex Holkhamicus* is the immediate original of the later MS. on which editors have come mainly to depend for the constitution of the text of the Second and Third Books of the Verrines, viz. the *Lagomarsinianus*, No. 42.

(2) The *Codex Holkhamicus* is also the MS. a collation of which F. Fabricius sent to Lambinus, after the publication of his first edition in 1565-6, and which came afterwards (as we shall see) to be known as the *Metellianus*.

Proof of these assertions must be given in their order. The first will lead to a brief review of the history of the text of the *Verrines*, and to the conclusion that for the Second and Third Books C. F. W. Müller has done well to attach primary importance to the first hand in Lg. 42, which is, beyond any doubt whatever, an immediate copy of Ho. The evidence for the second statement ought to result in the solution of certain problems connected with the editing of the text in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

In the preface to his edition of the *Verrines* (1831) Zumpt shows that, while for the other parts of those orations Lg. 42 belongs to an inferior family of MSS., for the Second and Third Books it must take rank among the best ('praestantissimis annumerandus est,' p. xxxiii). In explanation of this phenomenon, Zumpt supposes that the common archetype of all the good MSS. had been dismembered, either by the natural process of decay, or with the deliberate intention of separating those of the speeches which were more widely read from those which were not so popular. This would give rise to the execution of copies of all the speeches up to Act. ii. Lib. i. (inclusive), along with Books iv and v, or copies of the last two books alone, separately from Books ii and iii, which Zumpt considers would not be in so much demand 'propter severitatem argumenti.' The peculiarity about Lg. 42 (cp. Jordan, p. 177) is that, as soon as it was noticed that its tradition of ii and iii differed from the rest of its contents (in which it had followed the 'vulgaris secta'), some one set to work and 'corrected' the text into conformity with that of the inferior family of MSS. Hence it is that the important references to this codex are always given as Lg. 42 p. m. (i.e. *prima manus*), and it is these citations which will be found to coincide almost invariably with the MS. at Holkham.

The collations of his various codices made by the Jesuit Girolamo Lagomarsini had originally been reported by Niebuhr in the margin of his copy of Garatoni's edition, and they were recognized by Halm as among the most valuable parts of Zumpt's critical apparatus. Writing

in the *Gelehrte Anzeigen der bayerischen Academie* (March, 1853), Halm dwells on the superiority of the recension of Books ii and iii contained in Lg. 42¹, and divines that it was copied from a very old MS. 'die von der oder den zu den übrigen Büchern zu Grunde gelegenen verschieden gewesen ist.' He does not fail to note the significance of the fact that in Books ii and iii 'corrections' by the second hand occur in large numbers, while in the other books they are comparatively few. And in further proof of the diversity of the tradition of Lg. 42 he refers to the incompleteness of Book i (where the codex stops at § 152) as showing that the parts preceding the opening of Book ii had been derived by the copyist from a different source. The tradition of Books ii and iii Halm characterized as being 'von ganz ausgezeichnetem Werthe,' and ranked Lg. 42, for those parts of the Verrines—as indeed Zumpt had already done in his 'stemma codicum' (Pref. p. xxxviii)—with the only codd. known to have preserved the true tradition, viz. the *Nannianus*, the *Fabricianus*, and the *Metellianus*. The sequel will show that while the Holkham Codex is very probably the *Nannianus*, it is quite certainly the *Fabricianus* and the *Metellianus*, both in one, and that it will rank henceforth with the *Regius Parisinus*, 7774 A, also a ninth century MS. (though somewhat later than Ho.) whose authority is now accepted by editors as supreme for the Fourth and Fifth Books of the Verrines, which are all that it contains.

In view of what has been said above, it will not appear surprising that C. F. W. Müller in his *Adnotatio Critica* (pp. xl-xli) relies mainly for the text of Books ii and iii on the tradition of Lg. 42. In the edition of the Verrines which I have undertaken to prepare for the Oxford Press, the Holkham MS. will take precedence of Lg. 42, and of all others, for the parts in which it is extant; and even greater weight than formerly will be attached to the recension of Lg. 42 p.m. in doubtful

¹ The fullest account of Lg. 42 is given by Baiter in *Philologus*, vol. xx (1863), p. 350 sqq. We learn there that this codex is now in the Laurentian library at Florence, and that of forty folios the first nineteen have many marginalia and variants by a second hand. After Book iii come iv and v, but by a different copyist and badly written; then the *Div. in Q. Caecilium*, with the *Actio Prima, Liber Primus*. Next come in somewhat better writing the *Invectiva Salustii*, and the *Responsio Ciceronis*: in Cat. I-IV, *pro Marcello, pro Ligario, pro Deiotaro*. These last seem originally to have formed another codex—41 A.C. in the Abbatia Florentina (which originally contained the MSS. of the Bibliotheca S. Mariae) instead of 45 A.C., the original mark of Lg. 42.

places, on the ground that what it contains must, with a few inevitable variations, have originally stood in Ho. Before going on to prove the direct descent of Lg. 42 from Ho., I shall only add here that Müller obtained a new collation of the Lagomarsini Codex from Aug. Reifferscheid; formerly we had to rely on that given by Zumpt, and by Halm (see the 'Supplementum Adnotationis' in the Zürich edition, pp. 451 sqq.). Müller cites from Reifferscheid's collation, however, only what is sufficient for his purpose, and it is therefore well to state that references to the *prima manus* of Lg. 42 in what follows are drawn from all the sources which have been made available to us for a knowledge of this codex¹.

Externally, the first thing that attracts attention in the Holkham text of the Verrines is the occurrence of two considerable blank spaces on fol. 32 vo. Here the copyist has no doubt failed to make out the text of his ancient original and the result is that at p. 207, 11-14 (Müller) the whole sentence *Dixit hoc idem . . . iam ante cognosse* has been supplied in the received text from other sources (e. g. p., the Parisinus 7776). In the second blank space, on the same folio, the words *Satisne vobis . . . profectus esset* (p. 207, 24-26) have been omitted, for obviously the same reason. The archetype must have been in a somewhat damaged condition at this place. These two gaps have not been supplied in Lg. 42.

This will not be accepted, however, as amounting to irrefutable evidence of *direct* copying—a theory which it is always very difficult to establish beyond all controversy. Some other MS. may have intervened, it might be said, between Ho. and Lg. 42. Against any such suggestion the substantial identity of the whole tradition, so far as we can judge from the extant portions of Ho., must be advanced as a sufficient argument. Lg. 42 p. m. never differs from Ho. except in the few cases where the writer has misread his original, or where he has made some slight alteration capriciously, or with a view to the improvement of the text. The evidence, however, is of a cumulative character, and I shall proceed to state some of the most striking coincidences between the two codices.

¹ It should of course be understood that Lg. 42 is quite a late MS. Mr. A. C. Clark tells me that it is written in a rough cursive hand, not earlier than the fifteenth century, and possibly even later. The transcript may in fact have been made after the disappearance of the Holkham Codex from Cluni by a scholar who wanted to have a copy of the Verrines for his own use.

First as to omissions. Among the most cogent (after the two lacunae above referred to) of those which are common to Ho. and Lg. 42 are p. 207, 18 [et] and so again 265, 18; p. 208, 12 [HS CCCC milia a]; p. 209, 23 [hoc illis]; p. 240, 21 [nihil ex sacro]; ibid. 34 [legati laedant]; p. 241, 20 [bonis]; p. 260, 27 [est quantum]; p. 261, 16 [ab aratoribus] and 17 [positas]; p. 262, 11 [primo]; p. 263, 34 [quid sociorum]; p. 265, 3 [nullius vim]. A fuller collation of this codex would doubtless reveal further coincidences of omission, some of which may subsequently have been supplied from other sources: e.g. I am inclined to suspect that the reading *profecto* reported after *amicitiam* at p. 200, 27 may have some connexion with *perpetuo* (line 29) which followed immediately on *amicitiam* in Ho., as a consequence of an omission *per parablepsiam* duly recorded in the appended collation. Again at 200, 7 Lg. 42 nearly commits a similar error of omission; the words *enim causam totius ordinis suscepit*, were at first omitted and afterwards added in the margin; and any one who looks at the corresponding place in Ho., where *causam totius* and *causam reip.* stand directly under each other, in different lines of the same column, will easily see how natural the omission would have been to even a careful copyist. Neither codex has *iudices* in the first line of the Second Verrine, p. 200, 1. At 203, 17 Ho. omits *tantis opibus*: for Lg. 42 Halm reports the omission only of *tantis*. In line 19, on the other hand, neither codex gives *mihi*. Among other omissions which probably recur in Lg. 42 (unless supplied from other sources¹) the following may be noted: 202, 10 *parsimonia summa*; 205, 14 *sive pecuariorum* (here Halm reports only *sive* as omitted); 207, 9 *ac pudentissimi*. An instructive place is 208, 31 sqq. where neither codex gives *tam convictus*, or rather *convictus tam*, and where Müller's cr. note will show the existence of some confusion in the MSS. The origin of it is that the scribe of Ho. at first wrote

nemo umquam reus tam
perditus qui non ad, &c.,

i.e. by parablepsia he omitted at first all the words after *reus tam* in l. 31 as far as *reus tam* in l. 34 inclusive. Then, noticing the omission,

¹ Such indications as the addition of *Romanorum* (*per compend. v.* Müller, p. xli) to *civium* at 201, 35 suggest that Lg. 42 has suffered to some extent from contamination, or from the caprice of the copyist, or from both causes.

he first writes *nocens* after *tam* in the margin, and at the foot of the folio 'adducetur qui ista defensione . . . posthac reus tam.' But in all this there is no trace of *convictus tam*, which is accordingly wanting also in the original text of Lg. 42 (see Müller, p. xliv). It should be noted that these words do not appear in Par. 7776.

It is, of course, natural that some omissions should occur in Lg. 42 which are not due to Ho. For example, at 265, 20, Ho. has *ab his equitibus ·R·*, and Lg. 42 is reported as omitting *Romanis*. Immediately above Lg. omits *et* in copying Ho.'s *et ad se missas esse suo*. I shall specify only one more, as it furnishes an example of Halm's critical insight. At p. 206, 20, Lg. 42 omits all the words from *C. Sacerdote praetore* (so Ho.) to *Sacerdote practore*, inclusive, in l. 21. It then continues *quod tum ad Verrem quis detulit*. *Quod* is a mistake for *Quid* (Ho.), and Halm argued (Suppl. Adn., p. 451) that the archetype must have contained *Quid? tum ad Verrem quis detulit?* This is the reading of Ho., and *tum* will now accordingly be restored to the text.

Among many striking coincidences suggestive of direct copying, I take the following. At p. 259, 33 Ho. has an instance of stray capitals in *detexerit E·A·*¹, and at the same place Müller reports from Lg. *detexerit ·f·a*,—a quite intelligible mistake, seeing that the E in Ho. looks fully as like F as E. At 258, 9 both have the contraction P.R. for *praetoris*. At 201, 21 Ho. gives, by a kind of dittography, *nostrae nutre nutricem*: this appears in Lg. 42 as *nostrae matrem nutricem*. At 201, 26 Lg. 42 gives *suppeditando*, which editors accept in place of *suppeditato*: it got the reading from Ho. *supedido*. At 203, 1 Ho. gives, between *crimina* and *viderentur*, a *quae*, written above the line: Lg. 42 has *criminque*. At 204, 18 Ho.'s *Quod ego id in paucis* re-appears in Lg. 42 as *Quod ego idem in paucis*. At 206, 37 for *repperire* (Ho.) Lg. 42 has written in the text *querere*, but the same hand corrects in the margin to *repire*: similarly at 240, 32 the mistaken *Marcellina* in the text is corrected in the margin, by the first hand, to *Mamertina*. At 208, 27, for *quopiam captum* Ho. gives *copiam factum*,

¹ The difficulty of reading the capital letters in his text is probably the explanation of a curious error into which the writer of Ho. falls at 206, 35 where we find *ipse Erycum quae-reret* for *ipse praetor* (i. e. *pr.*) *cum quaereret*. This error he sought to remedy by subpunctuating the *y* in *Erycum*, and it reappears in Lg. 42 as *eritum* (Zumpt, p. 1026).

and so Lg. 42 (*copia*). At 258, 19 the reading of Lg. 42 *manere* for *inanem* becomes an intelligible mistake when we consult Ho. where *inanē* looks like *manē*, and the latter reading is in fact given in the margin of Lg. 42. At 240, 20 Lg. 42 is quoted as reading *ex optimis nullum*. This must have been an independent effort. Ho. here gives (for *ex oppido Thermis nullum*) *ex oppithermis nullum*, with an addition *s.l.*, now erased, after *oppi*. At 260, 17 (for *obfuit*) Ho. gives *offugit*, and Lg. 42 follows with *offug^t*. The unintelligible *Id ait est* in Lg. 42, at p. 262, 18, is to be explained as *Id act. est*: Ho. gives *Id actum est*. Both codd. have *qui defendet* (for *qui id def.?*) at 264, 12: *cernendum* for *credendum* ibid. 33: *potuit* (for *poterit*) 265, 23: *quae vidi* (for *quaesivi*) 266, 9: *sciritum* for *scriptum* 241, 14: *posse hoc donum* for *si hoc donum* ibid. 19: *eo tempore* for *eodem tempore* 264, 21: *portis* for *portu* 262, 14. At 240, 23 Lg. 42 gives *videte* for *vide*, and the explanation is that *videte* stood also in the original text of Ho., but with the last two letters superpunctuated. The points were subsequently erased, and Lg. copied without noticing the superpunctuation. The readings given in the collation at p. 259, lines 35, 36, and 37 also recur in Lg. 42.

Other cogent evidences of immediate derivation will be incidentally referred to when the proof comes to be undertaken of the identity of the Holkham Codex with the *Codex Fabricianus-Metellianus*, with which Lg. 42 is so generally in agreement. Meanwhile, I add here a short selection of comparatively unimportant readings—hitherto attributed to Lg. 42—which must now be credited to Ho.: 202, 7 *ad hanc*: 204, 29 *attineat*, 33 *negotiantur in Sicilia*: 205, 16 *in re umquam ulla*, 19 *Romae ab urbe antequam*: 206, 4 om. *operam ut*, as Müller, 27 *tamen putabat*: 207, 5 *Dionis egit*, 18 *aures hoc tuae*: 208, 8 *obtinebant causas*, 29 *sit necesse est*: 209, 6 om. *omnium*: 240, 36 *se funditus eversas*: 257, 18 *hoc*. Add to these 258, 25 where Ho. anticipates Jordan in giving *istius* for *illius*: and 208, 25 where Lg. 42 is definitely reported as omitting *tua* with Ho., and Jordan.

It need only be added, in order to complete our description of Ho. for the extant part of the Verrines, that the same hand which has been referred to above (see p. xiv) as being responsible for the numerous erasures throughout the codex has been at work in this portion also, deleting all corrections, good and bad alike. Thus, at 207, 14 *qui* was

pointed off at some time or other (it is omitted in Lg. 42), but the dots have been erased: cp. 240, 31 *laudante* (for *laudant te*) corr. del.: 257, 23 *haec quo* (for *ecquo*) corr. del.: and 264, 11 where *daret satis*, accidentally omitted in the text, has been added and afterwards erased.

The conclusion which may safely be drawn from this part of the investigation is, that the Codex known as *Lagomarsinianus* 42 was directly copied, for the Second and Third Books of the *Verrines*, from the MS. now at Holkham, while the latter was still complete. The result of this discovery will obviously be to enhance still further the value of Lg. 42, especially for the parts missing in Ho., in the eyes of students of these speeches. The tradition embodied, with tolerable accuracy, in the Codex of Lagomarsini now receives the certification of a MS. of the ninth century.

THE LATER HISTORY OF THE CODEX, AND ITS
IDENTIFICATION WITH THE FABRICIANUS-
METELLIANUS.

Having now exhausted the surviving contents of the Holkham Codex, I must next endeavour to trace its history; and I hope to complete this report by offering irrefragable proof of its identity with a very important codex, known as the *Codex Fabricianus*, which played a very important part in the work done by various scholars in the days of Lambinus.

But first we must revert for a moment to Cluni, its original home. How long the codex remained there it is, of course, impossible to say definitely. But I am able to adduce considerations which will render it probable that it was in the library at Cluni till the middle of the sixteenth century, and that after its removal from there its value and importance were promptly recognized by more than one of the scholars who had now begun to concern themselves with the proper constitution of the text of Cicero.

Reference was made, on an earlier page of this Introduction, to the old twelfth-century Catalogue of the Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, in which what is now the Holkham Codex may be readily identified with the MS. described under the number 498 (see p. vi.). This Catalogue was found by the two brethren of St. Maur, D. Martène and D. Durand, when they went to Cluni on a literary mission in 1710—written, as they tell us¹, ‘il y a cinq ou six cens ans, sur de grandes tablettes qu’on ferme comme un livre,’ and containing nearly six hundred titles, to represent which scarcely one hundred volumes remained. Is there any later catalogue of the monastery that will help to indicate the fate of the Cicero Codex? To answer this question recourse must again be had to the writings of M. Delisle, and in particular to his *Inventaire des Inscr. de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds de Cluni*, Paris, 1884². We find there (p. 383) a catalogue of the chief MSS. still extant in the library at Cluni when Dom Anselme le Michel paid his visit to it, about the year 1645, and in that catalogue there is no reference to the codex under consideration. This date may therefore be taken as our ‘upper limit.’ No doubt MSS. came to be less jealously guarded when books began to be multiplied by the new process of printing, and the Cicero MS. may possibly have been voluntarily parted with before that time. But the erasure of the library-mark (see p. vi.) is against this view, and after all it was not the way with the great libraries to disperse their contents of their own free will, at least in the days of their prosperity. It is from the sixteenth century that we may date the decadence of Cluni; and, so far, it may well appear probable that the Cicero Codex shared the fate of many other MSS. known to have belonged to the famous Benedictine foundation before the outbreak of the religious wars. In these wars Cluni suffered severely, and the climax came when it was sacked by the Huguenots in 1562. Martène and Durand tell us that it was currently reported in their time that

Voyage littéraire de deux religieux Bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur, Paris, 1717, i, 1, 227.

² I pass over as not relevant, though otherwise interesting, the list of books lent by the Cluni librarian in the year 1252, which accident has preserved to us. These number 128 in all, but they are mainly theological in character, and give no evidence of any non-professional interests on the part of the librarian’s clientèle.

Geneva had benefited by this incident¹. And M. Delisle, in the preface to his *Inventaire des Manuscrits*, quotes Theodore Beza as definitely attributing to his co-religionists the destruction of the library of the monastery. ‘Quant à Clugny,’ says Beza², ‘la ville fut prise sans résistance, dont les moines estoient partis auparavant . . . La librairie, où il restoit encore grand nombre d’anciens livres escrits à la main, fut du tout détruite, et les livres partie rompus, partie emportés en pièces, de sorte que ce thrésor-là fut perdu par l’insolence et l’ignorance de gens de guerre disans que c’estoient tous livres de la messe.’

But whether it was on this occasion, or at some earlier date, that the Cicero Codex disappeared from what had been its home for so many centuries, there is no doubt that its influence can be traced when, in the course of the sixteenth century, certain scholars set themselves vigorously to work to reconstitute Cicero’s text on the basis of older MS. authority than that which had been used, for some of his works, by the earliest editors. The chief of those scholars was of course the great Lambinus, with whom I am able to connect the Holkham Codex for the second and third books of the *Verrines*. But first I must name the jurist Cujas, without of course suggesting for one moment that he had anything whatever to do with the disappearance of our codex from Cluni. His only connexion with it may have been that he had somewhere taken advantage of some opportunity of consulting it.

A citation in an earlier part of this volume may have prepared the reader for the above reference to Cujas. It has been already stated (p. xviii) that the Holkham Codex possesses the distinction of being the only extant MS. which contains the true reading *duint* in *In Catilinam*, i. § 22 (*duent a, donent A* and the Cod. Steph., *dent H, donarent βγ*). Gruter and Graevius adopted this reading, the former referring to Cujas’s *Observationes et Emendationes*, Book xii. 32, where, evidently by way of recreation from his legal studies, Cujas addresses himself to certain faulty readings (*menda quacdam*) in the Catilinarian Orations.

¹ ‘On dit que les Huguenots les ont emportés à Genève, et que c'est qui enrichit aujourd’hui la bibliothèque publique de cette ville,’ op. cit.

² Théod. de Bèze, troisième volume de *l’Histoire ecclésiastique des Eglises réformées au Royaume de France* (Anvers, 1580, p. 421).

That he is relying on new MS. authority will be evident if I cite his own words: 'Licet . . . expromam quod in eas (i. e. the Catilines) habeo quodque existimo meum esse proprium. In prima sic scriptum habeo *Utinam tibi istam mentem Dii immortales duint*: ut in ea quae pro Deiotaro est *Dii te perduint fugitive*.' The probability that it was from the Holkham Codex that Cujas got this reading is strengthened by the fact that in the same chapter he quotes yet another reading which is found in Ho. (though in A also, and other members of the *a* family): viz. In Cat. i. § 22 *Neque enim sis Catilina, si te aut pudor a turpitudine aut metus a periculo aut ratio a furore revocauerit*. (It should be noted here, incidentally, that while *unquam* does not occur (after *pudor*) there is an erasure there in Ho., and the following *a* is in the hand of the corrector.) Again, at the beginning of the same chapter, Cujas cites, in support of a reading in another text, *Ego si hoc optimum factum iudicarem* as occurring in 'veteres libri' in the First Catiline (§ 29), and it is at least a coincidence that in Ho. *factum* stood there as part of the original text, though the *m* was subsequently deleted: the fact that the *Ambrosianus* (A) gives *factū* suggests—if a direct connexion can be established between Ho. and A—that this is a late erasure¹.

My last citation of Cujas must be in connexion with *pro rege Deiotaro* § 35 where Halm refers to the reading *praeteritum* as being given in the form of a variant in the margin of the edition of Lambinus (preserved in the library at Bern) 'a viro docto (Cuiacio an Bongarsio?) adscripta: *practermissum* codd. *rell*.' *Praeteritum* occurs in Ho., and also in AH.

Cujas is named by Lambinus, among many others, in the preface to his first edition (1565–6), as having lent him *libri* to help in the work; the eulogy includes F. Fabricius by the way, as well as Politian, Linacre, Manutius, Melanchthon, Ramus, Muretus and others. A similar

¹ The other citations which Cujas gives from the Catilines are iii. § 18 *Quod vix videtur humanis consiliis tantam molam rerum gubernatio consequi potuisse*: this must be from a different, and probably a much later codex than Ho., which contains the reading of Müller's text, except that it gives (with A) *videretur* for *videtur*: ii. 10 *obligaverunt* for *obligaverunt*: § 18 *certare cum usuris et fructibus praediorum*, where Ho. has no *et*; and, for passages where the Holkham Codex is now imperfect, iii. § 20 *Ita collocandum coss. illi locauerunt* (A *collocatum, conlocauerunt*): i. § 8 *Nihil cogitas quod ego non modo non audiam sed etiam non videam*.

compliment is paid to the great jurist by Gruter in his edition of 1618¹.

We must be on our guard, therefore, against the assumption that only one Cicero Codex can be connected with the name of Cujas, as being definitely known to have been in his possession. It has been shown that the probability is that he once had an opportunity of consulting what is now the *Codex Holkhamicus*. There was certainly another 'liber Cuiacianus,' to which references are made by editors for parts of the *Verrines*², and which was not a manuscript at all. It was a printed edition, on the margin of which were written various readings culled from some old MS. Though Cujas seems to have placed it at Lambinus's disposal, our knowledge of its contents is derived mainly from that indefatigable collator, Janus Gulielmus, whom we may connect with Cujas in virtue of a visit which he is reported to have paid the latter at Bourges. The variants collected by Cujas must, however, have been derived from some other than the Cluni Codex. For the *Verrines*, the latter contained only Books II and III, while the 'Cuiacianus Gulielmii' is cited for the *Divinatio*, *Actio I*, and *Actio II*, Lib. i. Lambinus refers to the same 'liber' also for Books IV and V. Zumpt notes (Pref. p. xix) that Gruter cites it for the last time at 2 *Act. I*, § 109, and evidently thinks that the Codex which Cujas collated may have been the *Codex Stephani*, which went no further than § 111.

The next names which I wish to connect with the Cluni Codex are those of F. Fabricius Marcoduranus and Janus Gulielmus. I shall take Gulielmus first, as the proof about him is even easier than about Fabricius. In his note on ii in *Verr. ii. 1* Gruter refers to a 'Codex

¹ For an account of Cujas see Spangenberg's *Cujas und seine Zeitgenossen*, Leipzig, 1822. He was Professor at Cahors, Bourges, and Valence, and before his death in 1590 he had amassed a collection of more than 500 MSS., mostly legal, but many Greek and Latin classics. In his will he directed that these should be sold in detail, fearing that his notes and other papers might be villainously elicited if they should pass into the hands of any single owner. The writer in the *Biographie Universelle* quaintly remarks on this: 'Ses volontés furent exécutées au-delà de ses désirs: des libraires de Lyon, qui achetèrent ses manuscrits, les employèrent à couvrir des rudiments.' It is interesting in this connexion to recall (I owe the reference to Prof. Bywater) the identification of Scaliger's 'Liber Cuiacianus' of Propertius and Catullus by Prof. Robinson Ellis, in *Hermathena*, ii. 1876, p. 124 sqq.

² e. g. *togatum*, p. 255, 4, from the *Cuiacianus* (along with FM), Op. T. 1, p. 1045.

Ioannis Matalii Metelli' as having been used by Gulielmius. It is not quite clear when this Codex began to bear the name of its owner, but it was undoubtedly the Codex from Cluni. After establishing this statement, I shall proceed to show that it was also the Codex which Fabricius had collated for Lambinus.

Janus Gulielmius is one of those 'inheritors of unfulfilled renown' who did not live to give the fruits of his labours to the world. A great deal about his search for Codices of Cicero will be found in Gabbema's *Epistolae Clarorum Virorum*, from which it appears that Gulielmius lived with Suffridus Petri at Cologne, and that about 1580 he gave himself up to the task of preparing a new edition of Cicero, relying on several MSS. with which he was supplied by the kindness of various friends. These are described by Suffridus as 'exemplaria quae et antiquitate et integritate suspicienda erant'; and on the strength of this his friend Suffridus Petri expresses to a correspondent his confident expectation that Gulielmius will improve even on Lambinus himself, and will cure effectually the 'infinita menda' which had till then disfigured the text (pp. 406, 407). In March, 1583, Suffridus gives his friend a letter of recommendation to Cujas at Bourges, and in reply Gulielmius tells him how he had met Cujas at Paris, and how he had been able to use the MS. of Victorius, while he hoped to have access also to the collections of Puteanus and Pithoeus. In this same letter he sends his compliments to Metellus. He subsequently pays a visit to Cujas at Bourges, and is there allowed to use various MSS. in the library of that great jurist. Then comes his premature death in 1584, after which there ensued a long wrangle as to what should be done with his notes. It was not till many years after the death of Gulielmius, owing to these difficulties with his heirs, that his notes were available for publication, and they did not appear till Gruter published his edition of 1618, when he included them in his own commentary.

Janus Gruterus (Jean Gruter, or Gruytere) we may claim as one of ourselves, for it is recorded of him that he was a student at Cambridge about the year 1579. In his 'Dedicatio,' p. 3, he tells us that he has constituted his text on the basis of MSS. authority and on that of the old editions: 'sed maxime ad variantes lectiones Iani Gulielmii, iam triginta toto annos incredibili desiderio passim a tota Europa, frusta

expeditas, sed tunc demum e carceris sui longa nocte erutas.' Among his own notes, Gruter adds, 'eae quae ex I. Gulielmii schedis erui potuere, passim sunt insertae.'

From this narrative it will appear probable that in his notes Gulielmius had used the designation 'Codex Metellianus' in compliment to the owner of the codex which he had collated—Ioannes Matalius Metellus. This was Jean Matal (1520–1597), a man whose claims to learning were not based only on the fact that he possessed a very wide acquaintance with the learned men of his day. After studying at Bologna, and visiting Rome, Venice, Florence, and also England (in company with Bishop Antonius Augustinus, when the latter was sent on a mission there by Philip II), he went to Flanders, and finally to Augsbourg, where he died in 1597. He was a literary ally of Gruter, and acted as one of the revisers of the *Inscriptiones Antiquae* published by that scholar.

It will be my endeavour now to establish the fact that the Holkham Codex is the *Codex Metellianus*, and thereafter to draw certain interesting inferences as to its identity also with the MS. on which F. Fabricius drew (*Codex Fabricianus*) for some of the variants which he supplied to Lambinus.

For the proof I shall rely, to begin with, mainly on those passages for which the *Metellianus* (M) is quoted *solus*, i.e. to the exclusion of the *Fabricianus* (F φ). It is fortunate for the identification that Gruter's dislike of Lambinus induced him to pass by many readings already reported by his predecessor from F, and to cite from M several which Fabricius had omitted to quote.

I hope to be able to show that both editors were using the same codex under different names, and that their MS. ('heu! quantum mutatus ab illo') was the codex now at Holkham.

First as to the *Metellianus* (M). There is exact agreement between it and the MS. now at Holkham in the following places:—

p. 203, 23	<i>in una provincia</i>
205, 6	<i>inimicitiis</i>
„ 23	<i>sed Siciliae paratus erat ad praedam</i>
„ 28	<i>perradicule</i>
„ 35	<i>certissima</i>
206, 34	<i>a Sacerdote</i>
207, 9	<i>L. vecili</i>

207, 23	R (for <i>recita</i> ¹)
„ 24	<i>testimonium</i>
„ 35	<i>petita non est</i>
„ „	<i>causam om.</i>
240, 9	<i>cum quo</i>
241, 29	<i>singulare</i>
258, 12	<i>remoti</i>
260, 13	<i>ut om.</i>
„ 18	<i>vacationem</i>
„ „	<i>quam</i>
„ 25	<i>H S ∞ ∞</i>
„ 27	<i>est quantum om.</i>
261, 1	<i>possum</i>
„ 23	<i>oppositis</i>
262, 1	<i>venerat consuetudinem</i>
„ 37	<i>magno opere</i>
264, 17	<i>omnium</i>
„ 19	<i>contentio</i>
„ 22	<i>una sint</i>
265, 3	<i>virum nullius om.</i>
„ 6	<i>de meo curriculo</i>
„ 12	<i>ut iam scire possis</i>
„ 14	<i>vos me iam hoc</i>
„ 37	<i>eos</i>
266, 6	<i>magistratum</i>

Lastly I draw special attention to a somewhat trivial but at the same time, for the purpose of my argument, very cogent coincidence. At p. 206, 29, as my collation will show, the Holkham Codex gives, instead of *reperturum*, the form *reperiturum*. This reading Gulielmus found in the *Metellianus*, and approved. I subjoin Gruter's note *ad loc.*: 'Per placet Gulielmio antiqua ratio scripturae quae in Codice Metelli *reperiturum*.'

Gruter has cited, as from Gulielmus, the various readings of the *Metellianus* only as far as III, ch. 16, and in a note to chapter 19 he regrets that it is no longer available². Zumpt rightly divined the reason of this phenomenon. I quote from his Preface, p. xx: 'Concordare eum librum (sc. *Codicem Metellianum*) admirabiliter cum Fabriciano in repetita Lambiniana neminem fugere potest: ego vero unum esse puto

¹ 'In Metell. cod. una littera R. praemissa esse traditur,' Zumpt, p. 259.

² 'Heic iam deficiunt exemplaria Metelli atque Hittorpii, magno Criticae rei malo.'

(quod item Grutero in mentem venit ad ii. 7¹) et exiguum, quae invenitur, differentiam ad errorem eorum qui lectiones excerpserunt aut descripserunt refero. Cf. ad iii. 7, § 16 Vivebat enim Io. Matalius Metellus iisdem fere locis quibus Fr. Fabricius (Leodii² et Coloniae) ; neque aliam fuisse causam puto cur Gulielmus eius varietates non amplius excerpserit, quam quod eum a Fabriciano non discrepare intellexerit.'

If the identity of the Holkham Codex and the *Metellianus* can be considered to have been sufficiently established, the sign *Ho.* may everywhere take the place of *M.* For the extant portions of *Ho.* the only negative instance I have been able to discover is at p. 266, 6, where Jordan cites (I do not know on what authority) *invenerbam* from *M.* whereas *Ho.* has *reperiebam*. This I take to be an instance of what Zumpt refers to in the passage quoted above as 'error eorum qui lectiones excerpserunt aut descripserunt.' It is, in fact, a misprint. The difficulty of the further step which must now be taken in the endeavour to prove, by the living testimony of the Holkham Codex, the identity of the long lost *Fabricianus* with the MS. which was afterwards called the *Metellianus*, is greatly increased—as will shortly appear—by the loose method of citation employed by those who are responsible for the references in the revised edition of Lambinus's text.

Meanwhile something has been done, I hope, to lift the veil which the following note of Cicero's most recent editor, C. F. W. Müller, will show has so long shrouded the existence and even the reputation of certain codd. which at one time certainly played an important part in the emendation of the text of some of the orations: 'De aliis codd. optimis, Fabriciano F (aut ϕ), Metelliano M, Nanniano N, moleste ferimus nihil nos scire nisi quae Lambinus, Gruter., Nann. ex iis protulerunt.' *Adnot. crit.* p. xli. We have already dealt with the *Metellianus*, which is the *Codex Holkhamicus*. The *Nannianus*³ will receive separate treatment when

¹ Gruter's note (on *Avaleone*, reported by Lambinus, ii. 19, p. 206, 7) runs as follows: 'Procul dubio ex Fabriciano cod. quomodo item in Metellano; aut fere suspicere Fabricianas membranas easdem cum eis quas obtinuit a Metello Gulielmius: semper sane concordant aut plerumque.'

² Liège.

³ The name of this codex is derived from the Dutch scholar Pierre Nanning (1500-1557), who became in 1539 Professor of Humanity at the college founded by Busleiden at Louvain. He was a devoted scholar, and Gruter thought so highly of him that he included his 'Συμπύκτων, sive Miscellanearum decas' (Louvain, 1548) in the first vol. of his *Thesaurus Criticus*.

I come to sum up my results, and tabulate the readings which prove the identity of Ho. F M. It might be too great a tax on the credulity of scholars to state here that Ho. not only = F M, but also = N. It may suffice at present to say that the Nannianus undoubtedly belongs to the same family as Ho. M, and that with the extant parts of the Holkham Codex it is in almost constant agreement. Instances of diversity of tradition will be dealt with later (see p. xlvi), and it will be found possible to refer them all to erroneous reporting. First comes then the *Fabricianus*, which must now be discussed.

The connecting link between that chapter of its history during which the Holkham Codex was referred to as the *Metellianus*, and its previous career in France or elsewhere is probably to be found in the person of Fr. Fabricius. As there are many claimants to the name of Fabricius it will be well to specify. This was F. Fabricius Marcoduranus (i.e. of Düren, where his real name was Schmidt), b. 1527, d. 1573, who became Rector of the Gymnasium at Düsseldorf in 1564, having previously served as a teacher on the staff of that institution. In earlier life (probably from 1547 to 1551) he had studied at Paris under Petrus Ramus and Turnebus. As early as 1554 he published two Orations of Lysias, with a Latin translation, but the first intimation we have of his activity in the special field of Latin scholarship is the publication of an edition of the *Pro Ligario* in 1562. Later he is named by Lambinus in the preface to his edition of 1565-6 as among those who had deserved his thanks for assistance rendered. In a few years we find him publishing notes on the *Tusculan Disputations* (1568), an edition of the *Pro Milone* and *De Provinciis Consularibus* (1569), the *De Officiis* (1570), and *In Verr. i. and ii.* (1572)¹.

This then is the Fabricius to whom Lambinus records his obligations in the note which is found in the appendix to his second edition on *ii. In Verr. ii. § 5 conditum iam putaremus*: 'Sic nunc

¹ For Fabricius see W. Schmitz, *Franciscus Fabricius Marcoduranus, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus*, Köln, 1871, and also *Zeitschrift des bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, i, 1876, p. 69 ff. A copy of his edition of the *Verrines*, Books i. and ii. (which I have not seen), is reported in the Library at Munich: 'M. Tulli Ciceronis *Verrina* prima et secunda collatione optimorum librorum ac praecipue Dionys. Lambini emendata, cum argumentis Q. Asconii Pediani et F. F. M., et annotationibus: Coloniae apud Maternum Cholinum, MDLXXII.'

edendum curavi, libri antiquissimi fidem secutus. Admonendus autem est lector in hoc lib. ii. et in iii. accusationis multa esse emendata praeterea quae habuit prior editio, beneficio Fr. Fabricii Marcodurani, qui vetustissimi codicis scripturas a vulgata differentes accurate in libellum relatas ad me mittendas curavit, quas confirmant duo codices item MSⁱ Cl. Puteani.¹ Cp. pp. 254-255 of the Zürich edition (Baiter-Halm).

But if Lambinus was particular in specifying his obligations to Fabricius, he shares with those who brought out his second edition, which did not appear for some years after his death, the odium attaching to the careless citation of authorities. This is probably one of the reasons for the ill will which later editors sometimes display towards his work and reputation. It is instructive to place alongside of the above note the following, written in regard to it by one of his successors: 'Quae autem hic monet Lambinus notari maxime atque animadverti velim. Multas enim lectiones, in his quidem duabus orationibus¹, quae Lambiniano ingenio, quod erat certe peracutum, non sine querelis hominum tribuuntur, his ego, quibus est ille usus, codicibus libentius referrem acceptas; mihique hoc aequius sane videtur. Ne hoc item tutissimum sit, ea fecit haud admodum probanda Lambini ratio, qua in verba singula testes proferre neglexit².'

The resulting confusion has been severely commented on by later editors, down to those of the present day. Thus Jo. Aug. Ernesti, writing in 1756 (*Historia Critica operum Ciceronis typographorum formulis editorum*, Leipzig), insists that for the real Lambinus you must go back to the great edition of 1566, so hopeless is the task of discriminating between the farrago of variants carelessly printed in the margin and notes of the

¹ It should be noted, by way of cumulative proof, that in the above, as well as in the note of Lambinus himself, reference is made only to the Second and Third Books of the *Verrines*, which are all that the *Codex Holkhamicus* contained.

² That the charge so frequently made against Lambinus by his more or less envious successors may not have been entirely without foundation will appear from the following instance. Jordan's note at p. 262, 8 is *eas aut*, 'Lamb. marg. 1584.' A reference to the revised Lambinus shows that this reading is given as a conjecture: 'forte *eas aut scribae*.' But *eas aut scribae* stands quite distinctly in the Holkham Codex, and Lambinus may here be appropriating as his own what he really derived from the collation sent him by Fabricius. So also p. 261, 24, 'forte, *posse extingue*.'

second edition, under the signs *L*, *vetus codex*, *v. c.*, *vett. codd.*, *al.*¹, &c. Ernesti warns the student, accordingly, that any text of Cicero claiming to be constituted 'ad extremam Lambini recensionem' is apt to be very misleading. And in the most recent editions of the Second and Third Books of the *Verrines*, the example of Jordan is followed, who, in the Zürich edition (Baiter-Halm) endeavoured to discriminate, by using two different signs (*F* and ϕ) between those readings which Lambinus or his editors expressly attributed to the *Codex Fabricianus*, and those which they credited, in a general way, to 'vetus codex,' which may either have been the *Fabricianus* or some other.

My thesis here must be that the Holkham Codex is the *Fabricianus* as well as the *Metellianus*; that *F M* in fact = *Ho*. The proof is not an easy one, for it must be extended to those parts of the *Verrines* which are no longer extant in the Holkham MS. and where, if the thesis is well-founded, one would expect *F* and *M* to coincide. Jordan's *apparatus criticus* will show that this is not always the case. But Zumpt was probably right in attributing many of the discrepancies to inaccurate reporting; and we have also the added element of the mystery which has attached to the Cluni codex, and which has prevented verification until now. Fabricius is stated above to have sent Lambinus, not the codex itself, but a collation of that part of it which contained the Second and Third Book of the *Verrines*. We have no hint as to where he had fallen in with so valuable a MS.² Lambinus died in 1573, probably without having had the codex in his possession, though he may have obtained other citations from it: e.g. the unique *decerit* in Cat. IV. § 10 (p. 291, 31) which was reported as occurring

¹ An analysis of the citations from places where the Holkham MS. is extant reveals the fact that the sign *L* may mean either the readings of the first edition, or something entirely new (i.e. *F* or ϕ = *Ho*). The same may be said of the sign *al.* Where *v. c.* is used the reading is of course an innovation: so also in the frequent instances of *L et ita v. c.*

² It was not the only service rendered Lambinus by Fabricius about this time. We know that he sent him also the 'perpetuus liber Saxonius' now referred to, though no longer extant, as the *Werdenensis*, a name it got from the town of Werda, near Düsseldorf. If the *Fabricianus* was the 'liber Nannii,' as the sequel will show is highly probable, Nannius may have consulted it at Cluni before his death in 1557, or it may have actually been in his possession. Or he may have collated it while it was already in the hands of Metellus, just as Fabricius may have done. The last-named scholar died in 1573; Gulielmus in 1584, and Metellus himself (b. 1520) not till 1597.

only in a 'Codex Lambini' and in a, but which can now be traced to Ho. If Fabricius had let out the secret of its *locale*, the MS. would not have changed its name so quickly, as on my hypothesis it did, from *Fabricianus* to *Metellianus*. The latter is the name given to it by Gulielmus in compliment to its owner, and Gulielmus died as early as 1584. Additional facts may come to light to help out the theory, but meanwhile it seems probable that the codex had passed through several hands before it became the declared and acknowledged property of Metellus, and that when Gulielmus began to cite it he was unaware that it was the MS. whose readings had previously been reported to Lambinus by F. Fabricius.

This theory derives some support from the fact, previously stated, that Gulielmus suddenly discontinues his citations. He had come to see that what he got from Metellus' MS. was a mere repetition of what had already been reported for the *Fabricianus*. At first sight this view is strengthened also by the constant recurrence, in Jordan's critical apparatus, of the symbols F M in juxtaposition: often ϕ M; very frequently also F (ϕ) M, Lg. 42. So far as regards the last-named codex, in its relation to the present discussion, it may be important to state that no formula can be used more frequently, for that part of the Verrines which is still extant in the Holkham Codex, than Ho. F M ϕ , Lg. 42. If it were invariable, and if F M or ϕ M were always reported in agreement for the parts outside the Holkham Codex, the views here advanced would be proved to demonstration. As it is we must proceed more cautiously.

To confine ourselves first to those portions of Book ii. which survive in the Holkham Codex, constant agreement can be reported for Ho. F, ϕ , and M, with this one qualification, which is susceptible of a quite natural explanation, that the same reading is not cited from both F and ϕ . The former is the more reliable of the two signs: what is definitely cited as F is presumably what Fabricius communicated to Lambinus, while ϕ may be that or something else. The important thing to note is that each and all of the readings credited to F, each and all of the readings credited to ϕ (which include several that ought probably to be ascribed to F), and each and all of the readings for which M is cited (often in company with F or ϕ) occur

in the *Codex Holkhamicus*. Instead of reproducing the somewhat cumbrous table which I have constructed, it may be more convenient to cite the cases of agreement between the various MSS. separately. It will be remembered that they are exclusive of those instances of agreement between Ho. and M *soli* which have already been quoted on pp. xxxvi-vii.

First, and most important for the view here advocated, come the cases of agreement between Ho. F, and M. They are the following:—

p. 201, 35	<i>reip. est</i>
" "	<i>civium</i>
" 37	<i>detinere</i>
205, 20	<i>agitare cum suis</i>
" 37	<i>attigit</i> ¹
206, 7	<i>L. Avalerone</i> ²
" 11	<i>H. S. D.</i>
" "	<i>numerata esse</i> ³
208, 17	<i>ob tua decreta, ob edicta, ob imperia, ob iudicia</i>
" 22	<i>ut quisque te maxime attingebat</i>
209, 3	<i>ordinis nostri</i>
" 21	<i>et honesti</i>
258, 14	<i>ablecta.</i> This ought probably never to have been cited as anything but <i>ablecta</i> : the origin of the mistake is the length of the <i>i</i> often used by the librarius of the Holkham MS., e.g. in writing <i>cinctus</i> , in Cat. i. § 23, and quite frequently at the beginning of words like <i>in</i> and <i>iam</i> .
259, 4	<i>ne minus triginta</i>
" 17-18	<i>decreta . . . non tolluntur</i>
262, 17	<i>scripturam</i>

¹ Zumpt's note ad loc. affords a good example of the uncertainty of the manuscript tradition, previous to the emergence of Ho.: 'Lambinus in margine repetitae editionis correxit *attigit*, idque Gruterus tacite recepit, umerque fortasse auctoritatem codicum MSS. secutus, ille Fabriciani, hic Metellianus, nam est etiam in Lg. 42 (pr. m.). Sed quoniam de illis codicibus dubitatio aliqua relinquitur, ceterique omnes etiam Paris. A *tetigit* exhibent, tutius nobis visum est restituere cum Ernestio quod olim edebatur.'

² Gruter reports *Avalerone* from the 'Metellianus,' without the *L.*, but I take this to be a mistake. In the Holkham Codex *L.* is found at the end of one line, and *Avalerone* begins another. For F, *L. Avalrone* is distinctly quoted.

³ 'Nam significavit mihi Fr. Fabricius Marcoduranus scriptum esse in illo antiquissimo codice *H. S. I. 2 numerata esse*' (Lambinus).

'Lambinus reposit ex Fabriciano *H. S. I. 2 numerata esse*, sicutque erat etiam in Metellano' (Gruter).

262, 24 *cum iste*
 „ 29 *gratias agerent*
 „ 30 *facturos se*
 263, 35 *promptius*
 265, 12 *ut iam scire possis*
 266, 11 *mensum* (Lambinus in annotatione *mensum* confirmat in Fabriciano
 legi, Zumpt).

I take next the striking coincidences reported for Ho. and F *soli*, only premising that some readings are attributed to F for which Lambinus, or his editors, use only the loose formula v. c. (vetus codex), and that when we come to enumerate the readings common to Ho. and φ, or to Ho. φ and M, we shall find several which might as well be attributed to F as to φ. Ho. and F. agree in the following :—

p. 202, 33 *relinquerent*
 204, 8 *isti*
 „ 19 *tuli*
 206, 1 *everrendam*
 207, 37 *a*
 208, 5 *calumniatorem*
 „ 15 H.S. cccc
 „ „ *cepisse*
 257, 18 *hoc homine*
 261, 8 *an*
 „ 13 *iniquorum*

Next follow cogent instances of agreement between Ho. and the tradition which Jordan denominates by the sign φ: I add M where the *Metellianus* is reported :—

p. 201, 6 *clauderetur*
 „ 16 *conditum iam*
 „ 21 *nominabat*
 202, 7 *videatur*
 „ 9 *luxuries*
 203, 10 *amplissima quaeque*
 „ 28 *decrevissent*
 „ 36 *civem* (so also M)
 204, 16 *legati decreti erant* (so M)
 „ 17 *mandataque*
 206, 15 *dereptum* (so M)
 „ „ *decres*
 „ 16 *renisset*

206, 28 *calumniae* (so M)
 207, 10 *Manili*
 „ 29 *Philocrates* (so M)
 „ 36 *ferē* (without *ad*): so M
 „ 37 *H.S. xx* (so M)
 209, 3 *nostrī* (so M)
 „ 7 *educamus*
 241, 33 *videretur* (so M)
 257, 21 *et per*
 „ 30 *Rhodi qui . . . gesserint*
 „ 32 *impetum moenibus* (so M)
 258, 12 *consuerant esse*
 „ 27 *Serapīm* (so M)
 261, 9 *cupias*
 „ 10 *enīm*
 262, 6 *is quaestus*
 263, 14 *desiderant arbitrantur res iudicare oportere* (so M). In *iudicare*
 there seems to have been an *i* inserted *sup. lin.* and afterwards
 erased
 „ 22 *commīllam* (so M)
 „ 23 *istos ipsos*
 264, 33 *cernendum*
 265, 5 *mīhimet si* (so M)
 „ 8 *in te configam.*

The broad result of these comparisons is that for certain portions of the Second Book of the Verrines all the readings reported after the publication of Lambinus's first edition, whether as coming from the *Codex Fabricianus*, from the undefined sources now known as ϕ , or from the so-called *Metellianus*, are actually found in the extant parts of the Holkham Codex. No discrepancy can be established between the two traditions¹.

¹ I must not leave to any hostile critic the work of collecting such 'negative instances' as may be supposed to exist. For 206, 17 there is probably some error in the statement that F gives *haec haec hereditas* for *haec hereditas*: similarly at 266, 13 *erant ex eodem* (F) for *erant haec ex codem* (Ho.). In order that my readers may not think this a mere 'begging of the question,' I subjoin a definite example of careless reporting. At 207, 32, the following variant occurs in the margin of Lambinus's second edition: 'Ipso vicesimo anno, cum tot int. pr. t. q. t. kalumniatores in prov. f. h. ab his Ven. n. petita est.' But in his notes, where Lambinus is defending the reading *ippos xx annos* against the 'vetus codex' with its *ipso vicesimo anno* (and also against Asconius), he says: 'Verum tamen si quis forte eam scripturam probabit tollenda erit negatio post participium petita.' He evidently had in view the real reading of Ho. which is 'ipso uicensimo anno cum tot 'PR' tot 'Q' tot calumniatores in prouincia fuissent hereditas ab his Veneris nomine petita non est.'

But the *Fabricianus* is cited to the end of the Third Book, and the *Metellianus* for part of it. Here the Holkham Codex can no longer be brought into court as a witness. But there is another witness, the *Lagomarsinianus* 42. It is no small evidence of Zumpt's critical capacity that he not only discerned the identity of the *Fabricianus* and the *Metellianus* (witness such notes as 'Est a Fabric. (Metell.)' but also founded on Lg. 42 the inference that such or such a reading had come originally from that lost codex: 'nunc e Fabric. (Metell.) venisse certum fit Lg. 42.' The examination of other places in the Verrines will be seen to establish my thesis that, where the correctness of the attribution can be relied upon, the conjunct formula Ho. F. M. Lg. 42 will invariably hold. But before indicating the results of this examination, it may be well to include here the special reference to the 'liber Nannii,' which was promised above (p. xxxix and note). The MS. which Nannius used has been regarded with something approaching veneration by succeeding editors. Ernesti was surprised to find it making a mistake (*subsistere* for *sistere* iii. § 223) and exclaims 'Ergo ille codex non est ἀναμάρτητος.' What if we have now to transfer to the Holkham MS. all the venerable traditions of the lost liber of Nannius?

THE CODEX NANNIANUS.

To those who know the circumstances under which editions of the classics were produced in the course of the sixteenth century, it will not appear surprising that one and the same codex should have been used at different times, by different scholars, and should afterwards have been cited under different names. It was by the labours of succeeding collators, each contributing his own portion, that the tradition of the older and better MSS. was gradually introduced, and grafted on the text as it had been originally—and very often hastily—reproduced from inferior codices in the early printed editions. But it must be remembered, also, that no one in those days ever undertook to publish a scientifically complete collation of any single MS.: all that was done was to incor-

porate with the text of a copy of Cicero readings in which some 'vetus codex' had been found to differ from the vulgar tradition. In the process of transference, some mistakes may very well have occurred. For example, Fabricius collates, and Lambinus uses his collation; and the same thing occurs as between Gulielmus and Gruter. Under such conditions it seems impossible to hold that one or two 'negative instances,' such as have just been referred to in the note on page *xlv*, must compel us to postulate the existence of various MSS., all exactly alike, except in one or two particulars. We should have to assume the existence of a separate codex for every variant not otherwise accounted for. In dealing with the *Nannianus*, I shall illustrate my meaning by a reference to those of its readings which would seem, at first sight, to differentiate it from *Ho. F M.* It has been already stated (p. *xxxix*) that it is otherwise in complete agreement with the Holkham Codex, and it must be remembered now that the MS. used by Nannius contained, like *Ho.*, no part of the *Verrines* except the Second and Third Books.

The 'Scholia et Castigationes' of Pierre Nanning appeared originally in 1548, and were incorporated by Car. Stephanus in the edition which he published at Paris in 1554. I have carefully compared both Nannius and Stephanus with the extant parts of Holkham, and such discrepancies as exist will now be dealt with in detail. At p. 203, 15 Nannius cites from his 'vetus codex' *et quem*: *Ho.* has *hec quem*, with the *h* superpunctuated. Stephanus passes over this citation of Nannius', as he already has *et quem* in his text; and indeed the only object Nannius had in making his note was to support the vulgate, and to quote from Virgil, *Et quisquam numen Iunonis adoret.* In doing so he remarks, 'Vergilius *et quisquam pro ecquis usurpare videtur*', which seems to shake one's confidence in the *Et quem* by which, as from his 'vetus codex,' his note is ushered in¹. At p. 205, 20, Nannius quotes from his 'vetus' *cum suis agitare*: *Ho.* gives *agitare cum suis*. Here it seems that what happened was this. Nannius is reporting such readings from his 'vetus codex' as will be improvements on the vulgar text. That text is quoted by Nannius as giving *cum suis cogitare*. *Cogitare*, then, is the

¹ It would of course be true to say of *Ho.*, as Nannius says of his v. c., that it constantly has *et quis* &c. for *ecquis*, &c.: e. g. *et quoniam*, *Pro Deiot.* § 40.

word Nannius wished to eliminate, and in editing his notes he inadvertently replaced it by *agitare* without transposing *cum suis*. At 206, 11, Nannius cites *numeratū esse* for *numerata esse* (Ho.): the open *a* in Holkham is enough to account for this. There is a greater difference at 206, 28, where Nannius reports from his 'vetus codex' *causam pecuniae* instead of *causam calumniae* (Ho.). Had he got his notes mixed up at this place? *Pecuniae* was the traditional reading: where can Nannius have found *calumniae* if not in his 'vetus codex'? He says in his note, 'Prius tamen rectius puto,' meaning *calumniae*, and it is *calumniae* accordingly that Stephanus has in his text. It should be added that Stephanus omits all reference, in his commentary, to Nannius' note, in which he had probably noticed that *pecuniae* and *calumniae* had changed places. (Similarly Stephanus omits to refer to *delecti* (208, 20) which Nannius cited from his 'vetus codex,' because Nannius adds in his note that he thinks the vulgate *dilecti* 'multo melior'.) *Cum in consilio* for *cum consilio* (209, 31) need not detain us: as Zumpt says, 'ex utraque scriptura coniunctum est, uti saepe fit' (cp. *cum suis agitare*, above). The next discrepancy is a very interesting one. It results in Jordan crediting the 'liber Nannii' *solus* with giving *inde* for *nunc* at 240, 3, and with omitting *tamen* in the same line. As a matter of fact it is Nannius himself who inadvertently omits *tamen* in his citation of the vulgate. His whole aim, as the substance of his note shows, is to report *deportata* from his 'vetus codex' in place of *reportata*: in doing so he says, 'vetus *Inde a me deportata est*', inadvertently omitting *tamen* and giving *inde* in place of *nunc*. Stephanus has again detected the error here, and retains *tamen*. At 258, 12, Nannius cites *remoti esse consueverunt* (*remoti consuercant esse*, IIo.): here again the important variant is *remoti* which Nannius wished to substitute for the vulgate *remotissimi*: the rest is a faulty citation¹. At 259, 9, the indications of an erased correction in Ho. would easily lead to a citation of *publico* (Ho.) as *publice*. Again at 260, 26 Nannius wished to substitute *demonstratum* for the vulgate *demonstrandum*, and inadvertently added

¹ Cp. Zumpt, p. 256 'Nannius in suo libro vulgatam *pecuniae* invenit, sed alteram lectionem se dicit probare, cuius notitiam unde acceperit ignoro et admiror.'

² I am glad to find that Zumpt shares my suspicions of the accuracy of Nannius's citations: v. ad loc. (p. 396) 'Nannius *esse consueverunt* negligenter, opinor, citat.'

est from his printed edition,—the fact being that his codex omitted both *est* and *quantum* after *demonstratum*. Stephanus gives the full reading here. The following is a convincing proof that Nannius—like many others since his time—was liable to make slips in transcribing his notes: at p. 261, 7 he cites his ‘*vetus*’ as giving *utrum denique simul universi* instead of *utrum denique Siculi universi*. The important contribution he wished to make here was *aut (an?) quo modo existiment*: Stephanus notices the (typographical?) error *simul* and reproduces only the last part of Nannius’s citation. He saw, no doubt, that *simul* for *Siculi* could not come from so reputable a codex as that of Nannius. For the vulgate *sperabas* at 261, 24 Nannius cites *speras*, but Stephanus rejects the citation (it is probably a mistake for *speraris*) and substitutes *speraras*. At 263, 22 we have another instance of faulty citation: Nannius wished to contribute *quibus hoc committam* from his v.c., but he makes the *hoc* into *haec*. Stephanus cites his reading as *quibus committam*. The omission of *istos* in the next line may also be an example of careless quotation. At 265, 5 the vulgar reading was *si ne minimum de eo curriculo*: Nannius rightly reports *si ne minimum quidem de meo curriculo*. This is worth noting only because Stephanus misrepresents his citation, omitting *quidem* and giving *meo* as the old reading, *eo* as the new. At 265, 8 Nannius corrects the vulgate *ne quid nescum fingam* to *ne quid in te fingam* (*configam* Ho.) probably omitting some contraction he had used for the prepositional prefix. Stephanus does not give this citation, but inserts *in te fingam* in his text. In supplying the vulgate with the missing words *apud quos tabulae fuissent* at 266, 1 Nannius gives *magistri istius* in the context for *magistri illius* (Ho.). Lastly it is interesting to note that at 266, 29 (just where Ho. has begun to fail us) he reports *mensum* for *mensium*. As Ho. has *mensum* at 266, 11 (so also F M) this little indication may be added to the cumulative proof that Ho.= not F M only but N F M together¹.

¹ The same process may be carried out by any one who cares to take the trouble in regard to alleged discrepancies between N and F (or φ) in these parts of the Verrines which are no longer extant in the Holkham Codex. I have noted that (besides speaking of another codex, not his ‘*vetus*,’ which may have helped him to confuse his readings: see ‘*uterque codex*’ in his note on § 50) Nannius neither insists on *istum* nor omits *si uultis* at 228, 2. It is again his way of citing: what he wants to get into the text is the word *etiam*, as his note shows. Neither does he mean to omit *pecunia accepta* at 228, 20: he only shortens his quotation, and

I hope it will not be thought that I have over-elaborated this point. Even without such detail as has been included here, it may well appear probable, *a priori*, that the MSS. used by Nannius, Fabricius, and Gulielmus were one and the same¹. The first-named lived at Louvain, the second at Düsseldorf, the third—when he was not away collecting—at Cologne: and Jean Matal, who is known to have been the owner of the codex used by Gulielmus, lived much in Cologne and Liége². It is of course open to any one to postulate, for Nannius, the existence (and also, I may add, the complete disappearance) of a *Vetus Codex* which was an exact duplicate of Ho. To me that does not seem so probable. For the purpose of this investigation, however, the important point to note is that if the *Nannianus* was the Holkham Codex, the latter must have emerged from Cluni earlier than the year 1562, the date which has been given above (see p. xxxi) for the sack of that monastery. For it was in 1548, as has been already stated, that Nannius published the commentary we have been considering. But further speculation on this subject might be somewhat unprofitable: otherwise it would be interesting to work out the suggestion that the improvements on the vulgar text introduced by Naugerius, first in the Aldine edition of 1519, and afterwards in the Juntine edition of 1534, may be connected with the Cluni Codex. Naugerius was a Venetian nobleman who visited French as well

wants to emphasize *tuam iam alteri*. So again at 230, 24 it is not *agnoscatis* that he cares about. *Agnoscatis* is, in fact, a mistake: what he wants to insert is *et aquitatem* after *humanitatem*. (p. 244, 21 where he wants to correct the vulgate *is amplius* to *is amplior*, but unfortunately writes *his amplior*, and thus has helped to keep alive the idea that his 'liber' was something distinct from everything else!)

¹ I have confined myself in the above to those portions of the *Verrines* which are still extant in the *Codex Holkhamicus*, but Müller's *apparatus criticus* will show that for the parts of *Verr. ii an¹ iii*, no longer extant in Ho., the *Nannianus* agrees admirably with F and M, and also with Lg. 42.

² I have not been able to ascertain where Lord Lovel (afterwards Lord Leicester) purchased the Cluni Codex. Edwards tells us (*Memoirs of Libraries*, vol. ii, pp. 154-157) that he made his collection of MSS. 'during his lengthened travels on the Continent, and more particularly in Italy.' A century later William Roscoe visited the room 'at the top of the house' in which these treasures had lain so long neglected; and finding that many fine books had been stripped of their covers prior to importation, he undertook to superintend their binding, which he entrusted to a Liverpool binder, John Jones. The descriptive catalogue which Roscoe began to prepare was not completed till 1827, with the help of Sir Frederick Madden.

as Spanish monasteries¹ by way of equipping himself for his task; is it likely that he would have omitted the famous Benedictine foundation?

But we must be content with having recovered the old Cluni library-mark: the date at which it was erased by its new owner—whether he had privily conveyed it from the abbey, or bought it from a *gregarius miles*, as is recorded in another instance², for the traditional song—must remain a mystery.

I must not overload the pages of this report with excessive detail, otherwise it might have been advisable to discuss now, by way of conclusion, the various passages in the parts of the Verrines no longer extant in the Holkham Codex, in regard to which our existing critical apparatus would seem to throw difficulties in the way of any theory that that Codex is the Nannianus, *and* the Fabricianus, *and* the Metellianus, —all in one. In view of the early appearance of my edition of the Verrines, in the Oxford Press Series, I may be permitted to postpone further proof of the proposition that N F M = Ho. Here I shall state only certain general conclusions. The readings reported (somewhat carelessly, as has been shown) by Nannius had undoubtedly a great influence on the later tradition of the text. Stephanus incorporated them in his edition, and Lambinus relied on Stephanus. Thus the leavening influence of the Codex from Cluni gradually makes itself felt, through the hands of successive collators, in the course of the sixteenth century. What Fabricius found already existing in the text of Lambinus's edition of 1565–1566 he did not, as a rule, forward to that great editor for use in his second edition, as from the Codex known as F. That is to say he would think it, in many cases, superfluous to establish by the authority of the *Fabricianus* a reading which was already in undisputed possession of the text, and which had been originally obtained by Nannius (though Fabricius may not have known this latter fact) *from the Cluni Codex*. In the same way when Gulielmus comes to undertake his collation, he makes a special point of chronicling anything that had not been previously noted: hence the number of passages

¹ 'Secundus tomus M. Tullii Ciceronis orationes habet ab Andrea Naugerio, patritio Veneto, summo labore ac industria in Hispaniensi Gallicaque legatione excussis permultis bibliothecis, et emendationes multo factas, et in suam integratatem ad exemplar codicum antiquorum longe copiosius restitutas': from the preface of the Juntine edition.

² i. e. the 'Decurtatus' of Iosius.

where, in the present critical apparatus, the sign M (Metellianus) stands by itself. And here it may be stated as an interesting fact that wherever that sign stands, if reference be made to the latest collation of Lg. 42 (viz. that which A. Reifferscheid put at the disposal of C. F. W. Müller), it will generally be found that the latter tradition agrees with the former. One of Müller's constant formulas, in fact, for the whole text of the Second and Third Book of the Verrines, is 'Lg. 42 idem habet quod M,' or 'om. praeter M etiam Lg. 42.' My previous treatment of the Codex of Lagomarsini (p. xxv) will enable the reader to appreciate the significance of this formula. I give only one or two examples. At 219, 13 we have, from Jordan, the note '*hereditatem* om. M.' Müller is now enabled to add 'etiam Lg. 42,' i. e. an omission not cited from F or ϕ is fastened on by Gulielmus, reported by Gruter as from M, and quite naturally recurs in Lg. 42. Immediately below *suorum* is not reported as wanting in M: it had already, i. e. before Gulielmus, been cited as an omission in F. The omission recurs, of course, in Lg. 42. In the same way with F: the formula which Müller's new collation enables him to use is 'praeter cod. F etiam Lg. 42,' and sometimes 'Lambinus: ex F credo, nam sic Lg. 42.' For example, the previous tradition of Lg. 42 at 220, 29 (as often elsewhere) would have been somewhat against the identifications here proposed: but now Müller gives us *quoquo animo est ex quo*, which is not very far from what is reported for F *si quoque animo est eo quo*. Again, at 214, 22 Jordan gives us 'ex lege F, .c. lege Lg. 42, .c. ex lege M.' Must we then, on account of such a discrepancy, abandon the views advanced in this paper? No: Müller now tells us, 'Lg. 42, idem habet quod M: .c. ex lege.' The first hand in Lg. 42 is, for the whole of the Second and Third Books, a pretty faithful transcript of M: M = F, and where it differs, one is entitled to suspect the attribution (as in *ex lege* F, above), passing as it has done through several hands. Similarly with regard to ϕ , most of the readings of which are no doubt to be credited to the 'Vetustissimus Codex' (i. e. the MS. now at Holkham) which Fabricius collated for Lambinus (see p. xxxviii). In Müller we have, with equal frequency, the formula 'non ϕ modo sed etiam Lg. 42.' The last citation I give is one which will include N as well as F M Lg. 42. At 267, 2 Jordan gives 'HS. DC M N; n. s. (i. e. HS) DC Lg. 42 p. m. F.' Such a discrepancy confirms rather than

otherwise the view here put forward: the librarius of the Holkham Codex uses the symbol FS, which various collators have reported in various ways.

CONCLUSION.

I must now endeavour briefly to summarize the results of the present investigation.

There has emerged, from Lord Leicester's library at Holkham, a Ninth Century Codex of Cicero, of which—apart from a facsimile in Chatclain—nothing has been known till now.

For the Catiline Orations, this codex must be allowed its rightful place at the head of all extant MSS., and must be accepted by all future editors as the main basis for the constitution of the text.

The same holds good in regard to the fragment which it contains of the *Pro Ligario*, and in regard also to its more complete recension of the *Pro Deiotaro*.

For the Verrines, too, the Holkham Codex is of supreme importance, and furnishes us with just the clue that was needed for the proper constitution of the text of the Second and Third Books. In my forthcoming edition of these books, the relation of the sign Ho. (*Holkhamicus*) to F (*Fabricianus*), to M (*Metellianus*), to N (*Nannianus*), and also to the *Codex Lagomarsinianus* No. 42, will be worked out in detail. Meanwhile sufficient evidence has been adduced to secure a favourable consideration of the thesis that Ho. = F M N + Lg. 42.

As an additional element of intrinsic interest, the Holkham Codex presents us with certain scholia of which only some have previously been known to us from the *Ambrosianus*. The others are now published here for the first time (see p. lv). It is probable that these scholia, like all the Bobiensia, are of an early date. Moreover, the general purity of the orthography in the Holkham Codex, as well as the veneration in which it was obviously held by those who insisted that all the additions made by the second hand should be deleted, warrant the inference that it is a copy of a very ancient original.

Externally, the main feature of interest about the codex is the account which we have been able to piece together, as it were, of its origin and history. It was produced under the influence of the famous school of Tours, which owed so much to Charlemagne and to our own English Alcuin. The library-mark which appears on the first of the accompanying facsimiles shows that its original home was the great Benedictine monastery of Cluni, and it was the recovery of this mark that enabled the writer to identify the codex with No. 498 in the 'vetus Catalogus Bibliothecae Cluniacensis,' compiled between the years 1158 and 1161.

At Cluni it seems to have remained till the decadence of that august foundation in the sixteenth century. After it came into the hands of collators, its influence can be traced in the gradual improvement of the text of certain of Cicero's orations, which had been given in the earliest printed editions according to the recension of very inferior and much more recent MSS.

Definite, and it may be hoped conclusive, proof has, moreover, been adduced in support of the thesis that the Holkham Codex is identical with the MS. which was collated by Gulielmius, and the readings of which are given in Gruter's edition (1618). Reference may also be made, in this summary, to the evidence by which the writer has sought to show that it was the Holkham MS. which was used by Nannius, by F. Fabricius, and (through the latter) by Lambinus. Finally it has been shown that the importance of its tradition was recognized by some one who in the fifteenth or sixteenth century transcribed from it Books II and III of the Verrines, and incorporated his transcript in the complete copy of the Verrines which we still have in the MS. known to scholars as Lg. 42.

SCHOLIA CLUNIACENSIA

In the fifth volume of Orelli's edition (M. Tullii Ciceronis, Scholiastae, P. ii, p. 369 ff.) there are printed, after the Scholia Bobiensia, certain marginalia which had been originally transcribed from the *Codex Ambrosianus*, c. 29 (A), and published more than once by Mai¹. In the preceding part of this volume, proof has been given that A is derived directly or indirectly from the *Holkhamicus*. It is of course possible that both were exactly copied from the same archetype². In favour of a more or less direct connexion between Ho. and A is the absolute identity of the recension, even down to omissions and *proprieti errores*. Even at In Cat. § 13 (p. 293, 25)—where A leaves a lacuna of twenty-eight or thirty letters to indicate what is an omission of about forty letters in Ho.—there is a mark in the margin of Ho. which may have helped a copyist to see that something was wanting. Such marks recur in Ho.—probably inserted by the second hand, and sharing therefore in the general erasure made subsequently—in connexion with other lacunae and wrong readings: e.g. *reprobata* in Cat. ii. § 4; *Cassialipes*, iii. § 16: *urbem*

¹ *M. T. Ciceronis sex orationum partes ineditae*, Milan, 1817.

² If this should be considered the more probable explanation of the connexion between Ho. and A (and also between Ho. and H), it will appear strange that, if the archetype contained the scholia now under discussion, they should have been copied by a different hand in Ho. As to the text, it will probably be argued that the second hand in Ho. was reverting to the archetype when it inserted *-unus* for *-imus*, along with other more archaic forms; and it is important to note that this process is by no means absolutely invariable: e.g. at 255, 30 *ferendum* is allowed to escape without change, and so also elsewhere *perfimescendos*, *faciendum*, *stultissimos*, &c., while on the other hand A gives *consilii* as well as *consili*, and (if we may trust Baiter's collation) the superlative in *-imus* not infrequently. On the whole I incline to the view of the alterations by the second hand in Ho. suggested in the note on p. xiv.

florere, iii. § 25: *dolore cruciatumque*, iv. § 12: *et in posuisset* Pro Deiot. § 25. Even *duint* (in Cat. i. § 22) the reviser has not been sure about, and has drawn a line some way above it, just as in the other passages here referred to. I may take the opportunity of reporting here also *cum cuncta* (Deiot. § 26) by the first hand in Ho., corrected either by himself or by the original reviser¹ to *cum a cuncta*: A gives *cum a coniuncta*. But the scholia, now to be considered, make distinctly against any theory that A was immediately copied from Ho. In the first place, if Ho. did not contain the *Pro Marcello*—a point which the present condition of the MS. must leave unsettled—where can the librarius of A have got the scholia which accompany that speech in his copy? It does not appear probable that he would take his scholia on the *Ligarius* and *Deiotarus* from Ho. and go back to the archetype for those on the *Marcellus*. In any case no reason can be assigned to show why the writer of A reproduces the scholia for the Fourth Catilinarian only. Ho. contains one short note on the First Catiline, and longer ones on the Second and Third: these are now published here for the first time. It should be explained, however, that in the process of binding the Holkham codex, some mutilation of the notes on the outside margins has occurred: those on the inside are complete.

IN CAT. I.

p. 261, 1 (Müller)
statorem—confirmatorem.

IN CAT. II.

p. 262, 1 (mutilated)
furentem] bene posuit furentem . . . enim saepe speciem gerit quaera . . . fulcitur audacia. Ergo qui audacia . . . cum effrenatus et praeceps est et rati . . . de se scitur sui ruinam impetus constet.

¹ This hand, which I take to be that of either the 'corrector' or the scribe himself, is always traceable by the use of blacker ink: e.g. *a* in the above passage is in black ink and *in rasura*. The hand which made all the corrections is called in the collation, for convenience, m. 2. After it comes the hand which made all the erasures, according to order, and did its work so unintelligently as to delete good and bad with equal impartiality. Cp. p. xiv.

p. 262, 4 (mutilated)

eiecimus] metuens ne asperius populus rom[anus] sumeret eiectum esse
Catilinam postea[quam] eiectum dixit intulit leniorem. Eicitur inuitus emittitur
cupiens.

p. 262, 7

comparabitur] disponitur p[ar]paratur.

p. 262, 12 (mutilated)

motus est] uictus est cessit et est metafora (?) exercitibus in se concur-
rentibus quorum . . . ualidior dum loco cedit inferiore se fassus . . . uidetur
recusare certamen.

p. 263, 3

perdidimus hominem] perditum fecimus ut ipse pro Deiotaro 'di te perdunt
fugitive.'

§ 2, p. 263, 9 (mutilated)

adflictum et profligatum putatis] adflictio est in praesenti profligatio
tenditur . . . futurum ut sit profligatio uelud perennis in eo qui . . . [a]dficitur
cruciatus.

§ 3, p. 263, 13

evomuerit] metafora ab his quidem cruditate opprimuntur uomitu adsolent
liberare.

I permit myself to remark on the above citations that they contain
within themselves conclusive proof that these scholia were not composed
by the copyist, but must have been taken from an older source. In the
last extract *quidem* is of course a mistake for *qui dum*, as has been
indicated by the (later) insertion of a *v* above the line. It may be
recalled that recent critics have attempted to show that the composite
commentary known under the general title of *Scholia Bobiensia* may
go back as far as the third century¹.

§ 4, p. 264, 2

quem amare in praetexta calumnia coeperal] praetextatam aliqui legunt
calumniam non praetextam et habent rationem: aetas enim habens praetextam
aetas dicitur non aetas praetextata, ut mulier tunicam habens tunicata mulier
dicitur, non tunica mulier. Quod autem dicit calumniam hoc ostendit puerili
aetate Tongilium tam certae infamiae tamque aperti fuisse dedecoris ut si quis ei
adhaeret etiamsi carere crimine non carere suspicione cogitur. Tempore Tongi-

¹ Among the most recent publications on the subject of these scholia is the paper of Th. Stangl, cited at foot of p. lviii, and that of Hildebrandt (*De Schol. Cic. Bob.*, Berlin, 1894). The latter has sought to show that there were, in all, five scholiasts, and not, as Stangl thought, only four.

lium amare Catilina coepit quo amanti ignominiosa esset cupiditas quae in aetatem lubricam caperetur. Sed certior intellectus est si praetextam calumniam sumpseris. Toga enim aut pura est aut praetexta id est aut toga aut praetexta toga. Praetexta igitur dixit et cum toga inferre debuerit paraprosdociam calumniam intulit ut tum dicturum crederes praetextam togam dixerit praetextam calumniam.

I have copied the above as it appears in *Ho.* It is however susceptible of easy emendation. Read in the first sentence 'aetas enim habens praetextam *praetextata* aetas dicitur non aetas *praetexta[ta]*': there is already in the text of *Ho.* a sign of correction in regard to the last word, the corrector having written *a* over *-ata*. *Cogitur* must = *cogatur*. In the last sentence for *ut tum* read *ut cum*, or *ut tum cum*.

For a suggested explanation of *calumnia*, see p. xii, note.

§ 5, p. 264, 17
qui fulgent purpura] qui purpura utuntur solito purpu da gere

IN CAT. III.

§ 15, p. 280, 23

C. Mario, clarissimo viro] Gaius Marius consul cum praecepisset senatum curam gerere consules debere neque careret res publica detrimenti, quamquam de Gaio Glauco nihil esset nominatum decretum, praetore tamen eum interemis nec exspectauit ut tunc eum cum se magistratu abdicaret occideret.

In the above read for *neque careret, ne quid caperet*: and for *praetore, praetorem*.

§ 24, p. 284, 2

L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressif] Publius Sulpicius tribunus plebi legem tulit ut Mithridaticum bellum quod Sylla fuerat destinatum ad Marium transferretur. Quae orta sedatio est in qua Publius Sulpicius a Syllanis occisus est Marius uero fugatus ex urbe.

Here *Sylla* = *Syllae*, and *Quae* should be *Quare*. This note will be found reproduced in the second facsimile.

IN CAT. IV.

§ 9, p. 291, 14-15

hoc auctore et cognitore] cognitor id est defensor et quasi procuratore patrono eius quam laudo sententiae. Cognitor autem procurator erat qui adeset praesenti.

The above is as quoted from A (Ambrosianus C 29 inf.) by Mai and Orelli (see p. 370). Mai however gave *aderat* for *adeset*, afterwards corrected by Baiter (*Philologus*, xx. 1863, p. 337): also *procurator et patronus*. More recently Stangl, *Rhein. Mus.* xxxix. p. 568 ('Zur

... aemissimo in terrae regno
incedere, sine sanguine, sine ex-
ercitu, sine dissimilacione togai-
ta, me uno togato, duce & impe-
nare uicis tuis & conmiseror
damini q. omnis ciuile diri-
sionis: non solum eis qua-
uidier sed etes quas, uos me
ipsi meministis: que uidir
at. L. filius, p. suspicium op-
eris: exire ex urbem. c.
marium, aucto dem huius ur-
bis, multosque fortis uiror
partim exire ex uite
pictim: meremur: c. nocte
uius coni. armis expulit
ex urbe collegam: omnis
hi locor aceruis corporu
& ciuium sanguine redun-
ducens: superciuit post eam
cinquemariorum uero
clamissimis uim interfec-
tas lumina ciuitatis extinc-
tes sunt: uelut est huius uic-

serue crudelium post eam
filium die quidem operi est
quarundam sanguine ciuium: &
quas clamauit reip. dir. i
sensit: u. lepidur ad clamissima
& fortissima uiro & cuncto: ac
tulit non tam ipsius interitus
reip. lucum quam ceterorum
acque illorum non omnes diri-
sionis: exenteur modique
non uidebantur sed uidebantur
mutandam rem p. pestineraat
non illi nullum esse rem p. sed
inequae esse: ut & principes
neque hanc urbem florere
se uoluerunt: Neque illa
men omnes dissensiones qua-
rum nulla extitum reip. quis
sunt eiur modifuerunt: ut
non reconciliacione concor-
dare, sed intermissione cui
um diuidar: et si in hac
autem uno post hominum
memoriam, maximopradre.

CODEX CLUNIACENSIS S. HOLKHAMICUS

(Cicero in Cat. iii. §§ 23-25).

To face p. livii



Text-kritik der Scholiasten Ciceronischer Reden'), has suggested *item* for *autem*.

§ 9, p. 291, 25 (mutilated)

abesse non neminem] This note is practically as in Orelli, p. 370:—quosdam significat adsent[atores con]juratorum. Erant autem [Clodius Piso] et iabinus qui in senatum ue[nire] noluerant] ne quod in coniuratos su[pplicium depro]mere cogerentur quos [scilicet ad]sentatores fuisse Catili[nae certis]simum est.

§ 10, p. 291, 32 (mutilated)

legem Semproniam] quam Sempron[ius tule]rat Gracchus ut ne quis in [civem] Romanum capitalem [sententiam] diceret.

PRO LIGARIO.

§ 21, 9 (Clark)

Tuberonis sors] C]um enim ageretur ab [sena]tu qui esset mittendus in [Afric]am ad tutandas Pompei [partes] placuit rem sortito ger[ere]. Ergo plurium in urnam coniecta [sunt] nomina quae inter Tubero[nis] etiam fuit cuique profi[cisci] i]n Africam sorte unxit.

I print the above as it now stands in *Ho.*, only remarking that *plurium* is distinctly right for *plurima*, quoted by Mai-Orelli from A; and that Orelli gives *sorte evenit* wrongly for *sorte venit*.

More recently Stangl (*loc. cit.*) has proposed to read *decerni* for *gerere*.

§ 24, 12

rex potentissimus] iuuam (sc. Iubam) significat Mauritaniae regem qui Pompeio amicissimus Caesari uero fuit inuisus.

Orelli, following Mai, reads *Pompei* (p. 372, 3); also *invisus fuit*.

PRO REGE DEIOTARO.

ad init. Cum in omnibus causis gravioribus] Status huius orationis conjecturalis.

This has been omitted by the librarius of the *Ambrosianus*. Similarly, ten lines further down there occurs in *Ho.*, but not in A, the single word *experimento*, superpunctuated,—probably a gloss on *periculo*, l. 7.

§ 2, 19

a legatorum pedibus]

This note is exactly as given in Orelli, p. 372, except for the

mutilation, but it may as well, for the sake of completeness, be included here:

‘Deiotarum enim trahens [apud] Caesarem suspicionem, quod [ob do]lore amissi regni alien[o animo] esset affectus, purgandi sui [gratia] legatos miserat Romam [Hieram] et Blesarium et Astigonom, [quibus] serum suum Phidippicum me[dicu]m ad]iunxerat: quem a pedibus legato[rum cri]minans regem Castor nepas [idemque] accusator obduxit¹.’

§ 19, 2

qualis rex Attalus in P. Africanum fuit] Rex Attalus populo Romano artissima fuit societate coniunctus usque adeo ut eum quoque regni sui heredem fecerit. Idem igitur oppugnanti Numantiam Scipioni non tantum a quibus fulciretur belli necessitas in Hispaniam misit uerum etiam dona pretiosa: quae sumpsit gratulans Africanus. Aemulum igitur regem Deiotarum in Caesarem liberalitatis in Africanum Attali fuisse confirmat.

This scholium is worth transcribing (though it is quoted from the *Ambrosianus* by Mai and Orelli), for the sake of the last sentence, in which the words *Aemulum igitur* are now restored from *Ho.* Orelli's proposed emendation, as also that of Stangl (*Rhein. Mus.* xxxix, p. 568), is thus rendered superfluous.

§ 25, 6

Graves de te rumores] as in Orelli, p. 373, 7. Rumor enim repente ortus falsissimus fuit Caesarem in Africa circumiectu Maurorum cum omnibus copiis occidisse. Qua spe ad suscitandas Pompei partis erectus Caecilius uidebatur.

§ 26, 27

admiranda frugalitas: etsi hoc verbo, &c.] sordidum enim laudis est genus in regem frugalitatem esse mirandam.

Orelli's absurd *Sordidus enim, laudis egenus* has been already corrected by Baiter, *Philol.* xx. (1863), p. 338. Stangl quite unnecessarily conjectures ‘*Sobrium enim laudis est genus: in rege et frugalitatem esse mirandam.*’

§ 29, 1

suasor suissem armorum non ponendorum] Integris inquit rebus pacem Pompeio suasi, arma debere deponi, post farsalicum [Pharsalicum] autem proelium quo partes Pompei conciderunt non deponenda arma sed abicienda esse dixi. Ergo omnium nostrum fractis et communitis animis solus Castor constantiam retinebat.

¹ Orelli gives *ad criminandum* instead of *criminans*. The misspellings *nepas* and *obduxit* may also be noted in *Ho.* For *Phidippicum* the MS. gives *fidippicum*.

The above is now given intelligibly for the first time. Stangl (*Rhein. Mus.* xxxix. p. 568) has not noticed that Orelli's *infractis* has already been corrected by Baiter to *fractis*¹. But the librarius of the *Ambrosianus* wrote somewhat carelessly here, so that there is little to wonder at in Orelli's note, ' *Codex videtur habere quartas Pompei concederem non deponenda etiam. Dixi ergo*' . . . The words *quo partes*, which stand clearly in *Ho.*, appear (according to Stangl) as *qrtus*, or *qrttis*, in *A*, and this is a phenomenon which must be added to the argument against the *immediate* copying of *A* from *Ho.* The transference of *dixi* to the beginning of the last sentence has been fatal to all previous efforts to make out the correct tradition—with the partial exception, I ought to say, of H. S[aupe] in a note added to Baiter's Collation of *A* in *Philologus* 1863, p. 338.

IN VERREM, Act. ii, Lib. ii.

§ 1, p. 200, 2

aliquo modo] Vel praetermissis praeturae urbanae criminibus si non possum definitis.

§ 2, p. 200, 13

viribus quam integerrimis] in actione enim magnis opus est uiribus si quidem et motu corporis et magna contentione uocis plurimum iuvetur oratio.

§ 2, p. 200, 16

de provinciae dignitate] id est quam sit digna et quantum illa semper habuerit prouincia quamque inter alias excellere merito iudicata est.

§ 2, p. 200, 17

utilitate] id est quam Romano util[e] fuerit semper imperi[o].

§ 3, p. 200, 30 (mutilated)

gradus imperii] quasi quidam . . . gendorum uestigiorum . . . usque tendendi id est populum Romanum ad longius constitu . . . nationes Sicilia docuit . . . ficisci.

¹ Stangl seems to have overlooked Baiter's collation of *A*, in which the scholia as well as the speech are included. And the emergence of the Holkham Codex, besides giving a demonstration of the futility of some conjectural emendation, also disproves the view that the scholia are not more than 200 years older than *A*: through *Ho.* and *A* together they may have descended from a very ancient original.

§ 4, p. 201, 13

sociorum insula] cum enim socia esset Sicilia Syracusana urbs et eiusdem amicitiam consecantes populi in armis erant.

§ 5, p. 201, 20

cellam paenuriam (=penariam)] penum notum est cellarum dici id est cellarum domi constitutam quam opportunam faciat domino uictus cotidiani de-
promptio. sed penuria cella cotidianum praebet alimonium non redundat ad copiam hinc intulit postea nos uero experti sumus Siciliam novis [i.e. nobis] Italico bello pro aerario illo maiorum uetere ac referato fuisse id est usque adeo iudicatum est leue quod Cato de Sicilia iudicarit ut bello sociali quo nostrum aerarium exhaustum erat aerarium nobis maximum Sicilia fuerit.

§ 8, p. 202, 16 (mutilated)

illum annum] Marci scilicet Lepidip̄ . . . qui Siciliam uehementer . . . ad-
fixerunt.

IN CATILINAM

[*Nihil hic inveniatur exscriptum nisi quod a Muelleri textu vel paullulum discrepet. Ubi cumque nihil enotatur, pro certo habendum est eandem quae apud Muellerum lectionem et in Codice Holkhamico extare.*]

Titulus in margine supra p. c. scriptus.

ORATIONES C[ICERONIS] IN CATILINAM.

(MÜLLER¹)

249, 2 quam diu] quan diu
4 Palati] Palatii
7 voltusque] uultusque
9 tuam] om.
non vides? Quid] Non vides
quid
16 Nos autem] autem (*post*
lacunam)
facere rei publicae] faceret
publice
17 vitemus] uitamus
18 consulis] *cōs.*
19 pestem quam] pestem quam
(*istam ab eadem, ut vide-*
tur, manu suprascr.)
20 [omnes iam diu]] inest
21 pontifex maximus] *p. maxim*
Ti.] tiberium
22 rei publicae] *rei. P.*
23 Catilinam] Catilinam ^o
(*vero*)
caede] cēde
24 perferemus] pferremus
25 quod C.] quod q;

249, 25 Sp. Maelium] spurium
(*m*)aelium
27 re publica] *reīp.*
29 acerbissimum] aceruissi-
mum
coērcerent] cohererent
senatus consultum] *SC.* :
supra lineam addidit
man. 1 consultū. Item
250, 11. 9 et 15
250, 1 vehemens et grave] et
grave addidit *m.* 1 *supra*
lineam. *Cp. 249, 19*
2 rei publicae] *reīp.*
auctoritas] autoritas. *Sed*
1. 14 et saepe alias aucto
4 ut] uti
consul] *cōs.*
5 res publica] *reīp.*
6 est] *div.* Item 1. 8
9 similis sen. con.] *similis SC*
10 consulibus] *cons̄s.*, *sup. lin.*
m. 1
11 tribunum plebis] *tr. pl.*
12 praetorem] *PR.* Desunt

ante hoc compendium (*cp.*
256, 5) in *pagina* *mutila*
fere *quinq̄ litterae.* *An*
populi romani (*per com-*
pend.) *praetorem?* *vel*
urb. pr., sicut 260, 24?
250, 12 rei publicae] *reīp.* (*et sic*
fere ubique)
13 [verō]] inest
15 huiuscmodi *sen. con.*] *deest*
in mutila pagina. *Sed*
cum spatiū non nisi
duodecim fere litterarū
exstet, credo initio stetisse
huiusmodi SC. (*vel eius-*
modi ut in Ambrosiano)
• *verum] uerum*
Usque ad verbum inclusum (p. 250,
15 *desunt nonnullae litterae et*
verba recepti textus, de margine
avulsa². *Idem accidit et notulae*
cuidam quam videtur scriba
addidisse ad verba hebescere
aciem, p. 250, 14
17 *senatus consulto] S. C.*
19 *patres conscripti] P. C.*

¹ Paginae et versus numerantur ut in editione C. F. W. Muelleri (M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta quae manserunt omnia, Partis ii. vol. ii. Editio Stereotypa, Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri MDCCXCVI).

² 249, 25 [prae]tero: [ahala]: 26 [rebus]: [occidit]: 27 quon[dam in hac]: 28 [fortes]. 250, 7 [su]spic-
tiones: cla[ris]imo: 8 [occ]isus: 9 [con]sularis: [et]: 10 [num]: 11 Sa[turni]num: 12 [remor]ata: 13 [vicesim]um:
14 [hebescere]: aucto[ritatis. H]ab.: 15 [huiusc (?) modi sen. cons.].

250, 21 me] <i>ante non om.</i>	256, 12 aequo] equo abire] habire, <i>sed h eras.</i>	257, 24 exulta] exulta
23 Italia] Italiā populum Romanum] pr.	14 solitudinique] <i>corr. ex soli-</i> tudineque <i>m. 1</i>	25 impio] <i>inpio, m suprascr.</i> <i>eras.</i>
26 videmus] uidetis	15 inquis] inquit	26 latrocino] latricinio
28 comprehendi] conphendi	16 [sibi] placere] placere sibi	27 ad tuos] ad suos: <i>corr. del.</i>
29 omnes] omnis	17 dicens] dices	28 praemissos] premissos, a <i>suprascr. eras.</i>
<i>Post verba</i> quod iam pridem <i>de-</i> <i>icit codex. Incipit iterum ad</i>	19 ex urbe] de turba	29 praestol.] prestol.
<i>verba</i> viderem carere me <i>a-</i> <i>spectu, § 17</i>	21 Catilina] <i>om.</i>	<i>cui iam sciam]</i> cum sciam
255, 10 et iam] etiam	22 ecquid] et quid, <i>bis</i>	32 sacrarium] <i>scelerum tuo-</i> <i>rum,]</i> <i>sacrarium scelerum</i>
11 volneras] uulneras, o <i>su-</i> <i>prascr. eras.¹</i>	23 loquentium] locquentium	33 praemissam] premissam
13 ulla ratione] <i>ratione ulla</i>	25 At si] ac si	35 impiam] in piam, <i>corr. del.</i>
15 communis] communi, s <i>suprascr. eras.</i>	27 iure optimo senatus] sena- tus iure optimo	37 ista tua] tua ista effrenata] ecfrenata
<i>odit ac] om.</i>	32 Romani] <i>·R.</i>	
17 auctoritatem] autoritatem	34 tu et] et tu	258, 2 voluptatem] uoluntatem
18 nec vim] nec uiñ.	257, 4 corrigas] colligas	5 ne] <i>ne</i>
20 aliquot] aliquod, t <i>suprascr.</i> <i>eras.</i>	6 di] dii	<i>Nactus]</i> nanctus, <i>m. 1,</i> <i>nactus m. 2: corr. del.</i>
<i>existit]</i> existit	immortales] <i>corr. in immor-</i> <i>tales m. 1</i>	8 laetitia] letitia
22 sociorum] sotorum	8 tempestas] teſpeſtas: <i>m su-</i> <i>prascr. eras.</i>	11 Ad huius] <i>Ante haec verba</i>
23 neglegendas] u <i>suprascr.</i> <i>eras., ut fere ubique:</i> <i>v. p. xiii</i>	praesens] presens	<i>k sup. lin. add. m. 1:</i> <i>cp. 257, 16</i>
24 quaestiones] questiones, a <i>suprascr. eras.</i>	9 at] ad	12-14 ad obsidendum ... vigi- lare non solum] <i>desunt</i> <i>haec verba</i>
<i>ad evertendas] aduincendas</i>	10 impendeat] inpendeat	15 otiosorum] očiosorum, <i>punct. del.</i>
27 quicquid] quidquid	11 ista] tua ista	18 tum cum] cum
30 discede] disce, <i>corr. del.</i> ¹	12 commovere] commoueare	19 exsul] exul
33 ita ut] ut	14 is es Catilina ut te] sis Catilina si te (<i>v. p. xxxiii</i>)	20 rem publicam] <i>·R P</i>
34 tu te ipse] tu te	15 umquam] <i>om.</i> (<i>v. p. xxxiii</i>)	23 patres conscripti] <i>·P. C.</i> <i>Item</i>
36 ad M'.] ad <i>·M.</i>	16 Quam ob rem] <i>Ante haec</i> <i>verba k sup. lin. add.</i> <i>m. 1: v. p. xii</i>	<i>259, 17, et ubique</i>
256, 3 qui magno] quia magno	18 praedicas] predicas recta] rectā	24 querimoniam] quaer.
4 ad Q.] at que	19-20 vix feram ... in exilium] <i>haec verba primo omisit</i> <i>scriba, deinde in margine</i> <i>supplevit: deest tamen</i> <i>clausula si id feceris</i> <i>(v. p. x)</i>	25 diligenter] <i>om.</i>
5 praetorem] <i>·P.R.</i>	21 ieris sustinebo] ierisustinebo, <i>corr. del.</i>	28 omnis] <i>corr. ex omnes.</i>
6 optimum] optimum, u <i>su-</i> <i>prascr. eras., ut fere</i> <i>semper.</i>	23 concita] ^{re} concita	30 quem expectari] quem spe- ctari
M. Metellum] Metellum		<i>imperatorem]</i> <i>im̄p., in</i> <i>rasura</i>
7 ad custodiendum] ad custo- diendum te		32 evocatorem] seuocatorem
11 sint] sunt		259, 2 Romanorum] <i>·R.</i>
		3 a re publica] a <i>rep., sed e eras.</i>
		5 populo Romano] <i>·P. R.</i>

¹ Compendia *corr. del.* et *suprascr. eras.* explicantur ad pag. xiv.

259, 8 omnis] omnes, i ¹ *suprascr.*
 eras.
 10 non est] N. est
 14 existumas] existimas
 17 factu] factum: m *delevit*
aliquis (v. p. xxxiii)
 20 summi viri et clarissimi
 cives] summi et clarissimi
 uiui ciuis
 22 honestarunt] nonstarunt,
corr. del.
 24 [mih]] om.
 25 maxime] maxume
 inpenderet] inpenderent
 28 inminent] imminent (*primo*
 eminent: *corr. m. 1*)
 29 videant] uident
 32 improbi] inprobi: *item 37*
 33 si in hunc animadvertissem]
 si hunc animo aduertissem
 35 Manliana] Malliana
 36 qui non] quin
 esse factam] factam esse
260, 2 comprimi] comprimi
 3 se] sese
 eodem] eoDEM, *corr. del.*
 6 rei publicae] rei .P.: *at supra*
 1, rei publicae *plene scri-*
ptum: infra 14 reip., 18 .P. .P.
 7 patres conscripti] P. C.
 11 Quodsi] Hicsi
 16 iactatur
 22 [id]] om.
 24 praetoris urbani] .P. .R. urb.
 25 comparare] comparare
 27 uobis] uouis, *corr. del.*
 29 equitibus Romanis] E.Q.R.
 33 omnibus] omnib.
 37 isdem] *corr. alia manus*
 hisdem

261, 1 es constitutus] est con-
 stitutus
 quem] quam, *corr. del.*
 3 [aris]] om.
 a tectis] ac tectis
 4 [omnium]] *inest*

[I. ix]

IN LUCIUM CATILINAM LIBER
 PRIMUS EXPLICIT INCIPIT
 LIBER SECUNDUS FELICITER
262, 1 Quirites] .Q.
 2 anhelantem] anhellantem
 nefarie] *corr. ex nefariae*
 3 urbi] *corr. ex urbe*
 4 emisimus] fuit littera ante
 e: *an primo* dimisimus?
 5 Abiit] abit
 7 comparabitur] comparabi-
 tur (bi *punctis subscriptis*
 m. 1, *unde in a compa-*
ratur)
 12 pertimescemus] pertimesci-
 mus
263, 6 nobis] nouis (cp. 268, 24)
 7 incolumes] incolomes
 8 reliquit] reliquid
 10 Quirites] quirites: quir (?)
suprascr. eras.
 14 forasque] foras que
 18 comprehendenter] conphen-
 derim
 19 Quirites] quirites, *plene scri-*
ptum
 24-27 post non crederent *habet*
codex quam multos qui
 etiam defenderent, quam
 multos qui propter stulti-
 tiam non putarint (*sic*),
 quam multos qui propter
 inprobitatem faverent
 (faberent)
 30 ne vobis quidem omnibus re-
 etiam tum probata] rem
 quidem omnibus uobis
 etiam tum repbat (v. p. xi)
 32 socios] sotios
 34 pugnare] pugnarem, m *eras.*
 35 hostem Quirites quam] hos-
 temq: quam. *Litt.* q
subpunctam voluit delere
aliquis
 36 quod] qui

264, 1 omnis] omnes
 3 in praetexta] in praetexta
 calumnia
 Minucium] monatium, *corr.*
 minucium (?) *sed eras.*
 4 aes] es, *corr. del.* Item ere
 pro aere, l. 6
 popina] m (popinam) *su-*
prascr. eras.
 6 valentes] ualentes (*corr. ex*
 -is)
 nobilis] nobiles (*corr. ex*
 -is)
 7 piae] ex
 8 dilectu] delectu
 9 et his] et ex iis
 comparantur] conp.
 11 agresti] agrestis
 14 praetoris] *plene scriptum sed*
pr in ras.
 26 perlata] perlata§
 28 hi] om.
 31 expectavi] expectaui
 omnes] omnis
265, 1 si accelerare] si (*sup. lin.*)
 accelerare
 4 recreata] recremat, *corr. del.*
 5 res publica] *plene scriptum,*
nisi quod ublica punctis
subscriptis. Cp. 281, 14
 10 quae] que
 11 se cum Catilina] secum Cati-
 linam
 15 [homin]] om. *Sup. in est*
nonnihil erasum
 22 [ne]] *inest*
 24 asciverit] adsciverit
 28 esse fateatur] om.
 scaena] scena
 31 exercitatione] exercitationem
 32 perferundis] perferendis, u
suprascr. eras.
 33 libidine] libidine, u *suprascr.*
eras.: *item p. 266, 1 et 6*
266, 2 ac] et

266, 5 deseruit] *om.*
6 quae] *Q.:* *hic uae videtur ab
eadem manu additum esse
quae scholia exscripsit.* *Cp. 291, 26*
*Quodsi in vino] quodsinuino,
i suprascr. m. 1*
7 comissiones] cōmisatio-
nes, *corr. ex cōme.*
10 ebriosos] ebrios, *forte
ebriOS* (*v. p. xxii*)
11 dormientis] dormientes
(*corr. ex -is*)
12 complexi] complexi
15 impendere] inpendere
18 meus] meos, *corr. del.*
22 populo Romano] *·P.·R.*
24 insidiae sunt intus] *om.*
26 luxuria] luxurię, *corr. del.*
27 Quirites] -is
28 perditorum: quae] perdi-
torūq: *Q. m. 1. Sup. Q.
scripsit m. 2 quae, sed et
·Q. et quae eras.* *Cp. 263,
35: 284, 16.*
*Post verba poterunt quacumque
§ 11 amissa est pagina. Incipit
iterum codex ad verba ne mihi
sit invidiosum § 15*
268, 17 queruntur] quaeruntur
24 nobis] nouis *corr. del.* *Cp.
263, 6*
25 queramur] quaeramur
27 quem] *om.*
32 placare] placere
33 si me] si ame
34 Quirites] *·q.*
istae copiae] iste copię
35 comparentur] comparentur
37 aere] ere
269, 3 locupletes] locupletis, -e
sup. lin. m. 2
8 vastatione] uastationem
9 putas] putas, *te crassiore
atramento scr. m. 2*

269, 9 An] *om.*
11 proferentur] proferuntur
15 his] iis *m. 1. Cp. 278, 25:
280, 30*
16 cibibus] cibibus
18 videntur] -ntur *crassiore
atramento scriptum*
19 rem publicam] rempublicā,
plene scriptum
22 re publica] rep.
25 se] *om.*
26 consequi] se consequi
28 [maximam multitudinem]]
maximam multitudinē
30 immortalis] immortales
32 praesentis] praesentes
33 summo] summo, *sed post
lacunam in qua tres lit-
terae deletae sunt. Vide-
tur codex initio habuisse
cum summo.*
34 cinere] *corr. ex cinerem*
270, 1 concedi sit] sit concedi
4 iis] his
5 Sulla] Sylla, *u sup. lin.
eras.: item l. 11; 277,
31*
7 ii] hii
in] abest
9 praediis] prediis, *a sup. lin.
eras.*
11 sit iis] sitis, *corr. del.*
13 tenues] tenuis
14 impulerunt] impulerunt
15 direptorumque] derepto-
rumq.
22 partim inertia] patrem iner-
tiam, *corr. del.*
gerendo] gerundo
25 defatigati] defatigati
27 acris] acres, *i sup. lin. m. 2
eras.*
28 quam] abest
34 facinerosorum] facinoroso-
rum
37 quoniam] qm.

270, 37 carcer] *corr. ex car-
cere*
271, 6 vitae] uita
21 magno opere] magnopere
25 consules] cons̄s.
33 Romanis] *·R. (sup. lin. m. 1)
v. ad p. xviii*
272, 2 pudicitia illinc] *supplevit*
(corrector?) in margine.
Cp. Lig. § 18, 12
5 lubido; denique] libido.
Hinc denique
8 copia] copiae
12 di] dii
14 Quirites] *q.*
16 motu] mutu
17 esset] esse, *corr. del.*
22 quam pars] quapars, *corr.
del.*
32 [nati] *inest*
33 expectavit] spectauit
273, 1 conivere possum] consu-
lere sibi possunt
3 sed inceptum] sed ne incep-
tum
5 consules] coſ.
*vigilantis] uigilantis, corr.
ex -es*
9 Quirites] *abest*
14 Quirites] *·q.*
16 sufferat] sufferant
*manifestae] manifeste, corr.
del.*
19 videtur] uideretur
ut] sup. lin. m. 1
21 possitis] *corr. ex -etis*
23 Quirites] *·Q. Item l. 29*
immortalium] inmortarium
27 longinquo sed] longinquos
et, corr. del.
praesentes] presentes
30 florentissimamque] floren-
tissimam potentiſſimam-
que

IN L. CATILINAM LIBER II
EXPLICIT INCIPIT LIBER III
FELICITER

274, 1 Rem publicam, Quirites]
Remp. Q.
2 fortunas] fortuna, m *suprascr. eras.*
coniuges] *corr. ex* coniunges
post verba conservatam
ac resti[tutam] § 1, deest
una pagina. *Incipit iterum codex ad verba regnum huius urbis, § 9*
277, 34 Capitoli] capitolii
vicesimus] uicensimus
278, 1 videretur] uideri
Quirites] quirites *plene scriptum*
5 manu] *corr. ex* manum. *Cp. factu, 259, 17*
7 recepissent] p̄cepissent
8 aliquid] aliquit, *corr. del.*
10 respondisset] *corr. ex* respondissent
13 est] *om.*
16 quaesivi] que sibi, *corr. del.*
24 quaesivit] que sibit, *corr. del.*
25 cum iis] cum is, *videtur initio cum iis fuisse. Cp. 269, 15*
27 per quem] per q: (quea *suprascr. eras.*; item 279, 10: 281, 36)
28 quaesissent] quaesident, *corr. del.*
29 esset] essent
fatis Sibyllinis] fastis sybillinis
31 inficiari] inficiari
32 praeter] preter
35 omnis] omnes (i *suprascr. eras.*)
279, 3 erant] eram, *corr. del.*
4 Quis sim] quis
6 ecquid] et quid
7 cura ut] *corr. ex* cura aut

279, 8 infimorum] infirmorum, *corr. del.*
Gabinius] Gauinius (*et sic ubique, e.g. 34: 280, 6*)
9 impudenter] in pudenter
10 iis quae] hisq. (uae *suprascr. eras. ut 278, 28*)
11 Quirites] Q.
13 tum multo] tumulto, *corr. del.*
14 voltus] uultus, o *suprascr. eras.*
obstupuerant] obstipuerant
16 aspiciebant] aspiciebam, *corr. del.*
17 se ipsi viderentur] se ipsi eviderentur
18 Quirites] Q.
19 Dictae] dicte
20 sunt a principibus] sunt principibus, *corr. del.*
22 senatus consultum] SC
23 Quirites] Q.
27 praetores] pretores forti] furti, *corr. del.*
29 collegae] college, *corr. del.*
32 praetura] pretura
34 qui] *om.*
praesentes] presentes
36 incendiae] incendiae, *u suprascr. eras.*

280, 1 indicatum in] indicatum. In *suprascr. eras.*
2 ex iis colonis quos Faesulas] ex his coloniis quas faesulas
3 Annium] manium
qui una cum] qui una cūm
qui una cum
6 Atque ea lenitate] atque alienitate, *corr. del.*
7 est usus Quirites] est ususq. (*Cp. 263, 35: 266, 28.*)
deinde ut in ras.

280, 8 tantaque hac] tanta qui ac., *corr. del.*
9 novem] VIII.
11 dis immortalibus] diis immortalibus
15 civis] ciues
18 re publica] reip., *corr. del.*
19 faciundum] faciendum
21 praetoris] pretoris, *corr. del.*
Sic quoque pretorem, l. 25
22 civis] ciues, i *suprascr. eras.*
23 abdicavit] addicabit, v *suprascr. eras.*
clarissimo viro] C. U.
24 C.] *om.*
27 Quirites] Q.
28 comprehensos] comprehensos
29 existimare] existimare, u *suprascr. eras.*
omnis] omnes, *corr. del.*
30 his] *corr. m. 2 in iis. Cp. 269, 15*
32 Quirites] Q.
33 somnum nec L. Cassi adipes] somnium nec C. Cassialipes (*v. p. xii*)
35 erat] erit, *corr. del.*
281, 1 Erat ei] erat et
2 consilio] *corr. ex* consilium
neque manus neque lingua] neque lingua neq. manus
8 tam acrem] tam macrem
11 compulisse] compulisse
Quirites] Q.
13 depulisse] depulisse
14 rei publicae] reip̄ubliçę (*Cp. 265, 5*)
15 commisisset] commisised, *corr. del.*
17 nunc] num, *corr. del.*
19 haec tanta in re publica] haec in tota rep̄.
20 inventa atque deprehensa est] inuenta conprehensa est

281, 21 quoad fuit] quod ad fuit, *quod voluit* m. 2 in quoad fuit corrigere: corr. del.
 27 Quirites] ·Q.
 28 inmortarium] immortalium nutu atque] om.
 30 conjectura] conjecturam videtur] uideretur
 32 praesentes] presentes
 33 paene] pene possemus] possimus
 34 omittam] corr. ex ommittam
 282, 1 di immortales] di immortales
 hoc certe quod] hoc certe * quod: *in lacuna fuit initio* ·Q., vel. q. (i.e. Quirites)
 2 praetermittendum] pretermittendum (u *suprascr. ut fere ubique*)
 3 memoria] corr. ex memoriam
 4 consulibus] cons.
 complures] complures in Capitolio] decapitolio
 5 cum et] et cum
 7 tactus] iactus, corr. del.
 8 Romulus] romolus, u *suprascr. m. 1* inauratum
 10 Quo] corr. ex quod
 Post verba totius urbis atque § 19 deest una pagina. Incipit iterum codex ad verba ac miserrimo interitu § 23
 283, 34 [erepti]] inest
 37 Quirites] ·Q.
 284, 1 audistis] auditis
 2 Sulla] sylla, corr. del. (Sic 10 et ubique)
 3 [eiecit ex urbe]] inest: urbe corr. ex urberi
 5 Cn. Octavius] ·C. n:octauius, corr. del.

284, 5 consul] cons.
 6 locus] locos
 11 deminutio] demutatione, corr. del.
 12 calamitate] clamitate
 15 illae] ille, corr. del.
 16 [Quirites]] om. Ortum est ex sequenti qae. Cp. 266, 28
 19 conflagrare sed se in hac urbe] om. v. p. ix
 florere voluerunt] florere se uoluerunt, v. ibid.
 20 illae] ille, corr. del.
 21 quaequivit] que siuit
 28 Quirites] ·Q.
 31 caedi] cedi
 33 incolumesque] incolomesque
 34 Quirites] ·Q. sup. lin.
 36 postulo] postulabo
 praeterquam] pter quam
 285, 1 omnes] omnis
 2 collocari] conlocari
 4 quod] quo, corr. del.
 5 possint] possunt
 Quirites] ·Q.
 7 inveterascent] inveterescent, corr. m. 2 (p. 266, 6)
 9 consulatus] consolatus
 10 civis] cives, corr. del.
 12 regionibus] corr. ex regionibus
 eiusdem] huius
 Post verba non eadem est fortuna deficit codex, neque quartae orationis habemus nisi duas tantum paginas, ab § 8 ad fin. constituta esse voluerunt ad § 15 qua frequentia, quo studio
 281, 11 patres conscripti] P. C.
 12 C. Caesaris] C. Caesar is
 13 hanc is] sic codex, sed cum signo transpositionis in re publica] in rem p.

291, 16 pertimescendi sin] pertimescendis in, corr. del.
 17 contrahatur] contrahantur
 18 vincat] uindicat
 24 populares] popularis
 26 civium Romanorum] C. R. (iuis et i videntur ab eius manu *suprascripta* esse qui exscripsit scholia). Cp. 266, 6
 26 ferat. Is et] feratis et, corr. del. (v. p. xvi)
 27 cives Romanos] C. R.
 29 praemiis] premiis (item l. 31)
 33 de civibus Romanis] deciuib: R.
 35 iniussu] iussu
 37 largitorem] largitiorem, corr. del.
 292, 1 populi Romani] P.R.
 huius urbis] post haec verba per incuriam repetita sunt verba cum de pernicie P.R., sed ne hic quidem puncta non erasit alias
 2 cogitarit] cogitari, corr. del.
 6 levando se] leuando a se populi Romani] P.R., pri- mum om. deinde in mar- gine supplevit m. 1
 8 omnis] omnes
 13 vituperatione] corr. ex uituperatione populo Romano] P.R.. pur- gabo abest
 15 patres conscripti] patres (corr. in is) conscripti quae] que
 16 inmanitate] immanitate
 26 caede] cede
 bacchantis] bacchantes, i *suprascr. eras.*
 28 Gabinium] gauiniū
 29 exercitu] corr. ex exercitum

292, 34 *vehementemque*] post
vehementem compend. q;
sup. lin. addidit m. 1
praebeo] prebebo
 36 *supplicium*] *supplicio, corr. del.*
de servo] de seruis
non] abest
 37 *acerbissimum*] *aceruissi-
 mum, corr. del.*
ac] an

293, 3 *dolore et cruciatu nocen-
 tis suum dolorem crucia-
 tumque*] *dolore crucia-
 tumque m. 1, quae vide-
 tur etiam ac inter haec
 verba suprascripsisse.*
Voluit *alius dolorem,*
sicut in Ambrosiano.
V. p. ix.
 7 *qui id*] *quid, corr. del.*
 11 *summae*] *summa*
 12 *patriae*] *patrie*
 13 *cupiam*] *cupiam*
 15 *sororis*] *sorori*

293, 15 *lectissimae*] *electissi-
 mae; e puncto subscriptis*
m. 2
 16 *praesentem*] *presentē*
 17 *suum*] *om.*
 20 *delenda*] *delende*
 23 *vir clarissimus*] *uiri claris-
 simi*
 24 *accipit*] *accipit*
 25-6 *de summa re publica de-
 minueretur—fundamenta*
Gallos] *de summa reip.*
gallos, mediis omissis, v.
p. ix
 26 *servitia*] *seruicia, corr. del.*
 28 *civis*] *ciues, corr. del.*
Gabinio] *gauinio*
 29 *Cassio*] *om.*
 30 *Vereamini*] *vere amini (v. p.
 xv)*
 31 *aliquid severe*] *aliquit seuerius*
 33 *poenae*] *poenæ*
crudeles] *crudelis*
 34 *acerbissimos*] *aceruissimos*
 35 *hostis*] *hostes, corr. del.*

293, 36 *patres conscripti*] *P. C.*
 37 *quae*] *q (uae in marg. suppl.
 del.)*
 294, 1 *auris*] *aurē, corr. del.*
 2 *ea quae*] *eaque*
 3 *transigunda*] *transigenda,*
corr. del.
 4 *sunt*] *om.*
patres conscripti] *P.C.*
 5 *etiam multo*] *multo etiam*
populi Romani] *P.R.*
 7 *Omnes*] *ones, corr. del.*
 8 *generum omnium*] *abest*
 10 *omnes*] *omnis*
 11 *post urbem conditam*] *post*
urbē cond. (litteras itam
in marg. suppletas delevit
aliquis)
 12 *sentirent*] *sentire*
 13 *praeter*] *preter*
 15 *lubenter*] *libenter, u supra-
 scr. eras.*
 17 *inmortales*] *imm.*
 18 *qua frequentia, quo studio*
post haec verba nihil est
reliqui.

PRO LIGARIO.

§ 18 *hoc victore esse non possumus*—§ 28 *Pacis equidem semper auctor fui sed tum.*

(CLARK¹)
 § 18, 8 *Cn.*] *C.N.*
 10 *Caesar*] *caes.* *Item l. 19*
 12 *invictus*] *supplevit (cor-
 rector?) in marg. Cp. in*
Cat. 272, 2
ius tueretur] *primo iustu[u]-
 eretur; dein, deleta littera*
u, tu eretur coniungere

voluit: copulam delevit
aliquis (v. p. xxi)
 § 18, 14 *civibus*] *om.*
 § 19, 15 *Caesar*] *om.*
 17 *de republica*] *derep*
 18 *esses cum*] *ante cū stetit*
aliquid (si?), sed erasum.
Est et -isses (voluisses
l. 19) in rasura scriptum

§ 19, 18 *incolumi*] *incolomi*
 26 *di adiuverunt*] *dii adiube-
 runt, corr. del.*
 30 *existimas*] *existimes, cp. in*
Cat. 269, 9
 § 20, 1 *vobis*] *nobis*
in Africam] *in africa*
 2 *inquieres cum*] *inquierunt,*
corr. del.

¹ In Caesarianis orationibus paragrapha et lineae numerantur ut in editione Alberti Curtis Clark (M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes Vol. VI, Oxonii e Typographeo Clarendoniano—Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).

Cum ne hic quidem quicquam sit exscriptum nisi quod a textu Clarkiano differat, velim lector intellegat ubi nihil proferatur ibi eadem quae apud Clarkium lectionem et in codice Holkhamico extare.

§ 20, 2 senatus censisset] señ. censisset, corr. del.	§ 22, 22 voluisse] prohibere illa voluisse	§ 26, 1 privaverit] priuarit quaeso] queso
3 senatus] señ.	24 gerendum] gerundum	4 in primis] primis, corr. del.
4 legaverat] ligauerat, corr. del.	26 imperium] im imperium	7 istud] istuc
10 ex senatus consulto] ex. S.C.	27 fascis] fasces	a quibus] ad quib;
§ 21, 11 excusari] excusare, i su- p̄rascr. m. 2	§ 23, 2 Caesar nobis] nobis Caesar 4 sorsque] sorsq.	9 cum] om.
12 omnis] omnes Tuberone] tuuerone	7 etiam eadem probata] etiam adprobata	12 possit] posset
13 domi] domo	§ 24, 8 non ultra] nontra, ul. sup̄rascr. eras.	§ 27, 13 honos] om.
14 isdem] sic codex: voluit m. 2 iisdem	9 auris] aures	15 ex senatus consulto] ex-S.C.
15 Tuberonem] tuueronem domi] corr. ex. domum	10 Veniebatis] Ueniebat in provinciam] in africam prouinciam, corr. m. 1 ex in africā in prouinciam	17 ne iners] ne in .RS. 19 ad Cn.] in C.N.
16 quidam] quidem, a sup̄rascr. m. 1	§ 25, 17 querelam] querela 20 provincia] prouinciañ	§ 28, 24 nec] neque Deficit codex in verbis semper au- tor fui: sed tum § 28: post lacunam nihil exstat nisi ultima verba orationis—si illi absenti salutem dederis presentibus te his daturum
§ 22, 20 eis] iis, m. 1: dein primam litteram delevit aliquis, restituit sup̄. lin. m. 2. Cp. in Cat. 269, 15	24 voltis] uultis 25 a quibusdam] quibusdam 26 estis] essetis, corr. ex estis Ligari] ligarii	M. TULLI CICERONIS PRO QUINTO LIGARIO EXP̄. INCIPIT PRO REGE DE IOTARO (sic: sup̄. lin. scripsit m. 2 dcot.)

PRO REGE DEIOTARO.

§ 1, 3 tum in hac causa] tumihi ac causa, corr. del.	§ 3, 6 quaeri] q̄ueri, corr. del. 8 posset] possit	§ 15, 11, 12 omnis] omnes, ter.: corr. del.
4 studi] studii	§ 4, 9 C.] om.	13 Quonam] q̄ñm
7 periculo] exstat in margine adscriptum 'exp̄ériimento'	14 se aequorem] sequorem, corr. del.	21 populi Romani] P.R.
§ 2, 10 antea] ante senatu] señ.	16 tam timeo] tanti meo, corr. del.	§ 16, 24 imprudentem] pruden- tem exitij] exitii
11 rem publicam] remp̄.	§ 5, 19 nulla] ulla	25 facinerosum] facinorosum
13 crudelitatē] crudelitatem, corr. del.	22 voltuque] uultuq:, o su- p̄rascr. eras.	§ 17, 28 in castellum] om. Blucium venisses et] luc- ceum venissese
Castor] ē add. in mg. sed del.	acquiesco] adquiesco	1 divertisses] divertisses
18 praemiis] p̄miis	§ 6, 26 dicerem] dicere, corr. del.	2 composita] composita
19 impulerit] impulerit	Post verba audiente et disceptante amissae sunt duae paginae. In- cipit iterum codex in verbis finitimi omnes liberos populos,	3 e balneo] ebalineo
§ 3, 1 accusantis] accusantes, i sup̄rascr. eras.	§ 15	5 cur] cum
2 os] os.		7 ita] ista
4 extimescebam] existime- scam, corr. del.		Phidippum] philippum

201, 36 ab domo] adomo
 37 detineri] detinere
 quoniam] qm.
202, 1 populi Romani] populi R.
Sic quoque ll. 3, 21, 29,
infra
 2 provinciae] puintiae. *Sed*
infra, l. 4, prouinciae
 propinquis vos] uos pro-
 pinquis
 4 est] om.
 5 iudices] iud. *ita fere semper.*
 7 videantur] uideatur
 10 summa parsimonia] abest
 11 his] iis
 16 affixerat] adfixerat
202, 30 istius] illius
 33 relinquere] relinquenterunt
 iniuriis] iniuris, i *suprascr.*
eras.
203, 1 crimina viderentur]
que
 crimina. uiderentur
 3 cognoverant] cognorant
 7 plures] pluris
 12 At] ad, *corr. del.*
 iudices] *plene scriptum*
 13 [mibi] *inest*
 14 enim] abest
 15 Ecquem] hecquem
 17 tantis opibus] om.
 18 utrius] utrius, *punctissubscr.*
m. 2, ut videtur.
 19 mihi] om.
 21 tractati tractatio
 29 dicent] diceret, n *su-*
prascr. eras.
 31 testes] testis
 36 civitatis] ciuitates, i *suprascr.*
eras.
204, 1 Messanae] Müessanae
 4 penates] penatis
 8 Reperietis] repperietis
 10 causas satis iustas] haec

[I. ix.]

verba per incuriam repe-
tita ipse delavit
204, 11 iudices] iud.
 12 illa] ulla
 imperii] imperi
 15 ii] hii
 16 et] om.
 18 ego in] ego id in
 22 ecquid] haec quid, *punctis*
subscr. m. 2
 23 querimoniae] quaerimoniae
 24 non nemo] nemo
 26 Heraclii] heracli
 32 persecuntur] persecuntur
 33 in Sicilia negotiantur] nego-
 tiantur in sicilia
 34 salvum] saluō
205, 1 cives Romanos] ciues R.
 2 plurimos] plurimos, i *su-*
prascr. eras.
 maximis] maximisq.
 iudices] iud. (*item p. 206,*
7 et 8)
 7 sum] sim.
 12 hominum] om.
 13 si cuiquam] sive cuiquam
 14 sive pecuariorum] om.
 16 ulla in re umquam] inreum-
 quā ulla
 temperarit] temperauit
 19 Romae et ad urbem] romae
 ab urbe
 23 sed [Siciliae] paratus] sed
 siciliae paratus erat
 26 famae] famē
 32 improbitatis] improbitatis
 35 certissimum] certissima
 36 impudentia] impudentia
 existumare] existimare, usu-
prascr. eras., *ut ubique*
 37 paratus] pararatus

206, 1 omine] homine, *corr. del.*
 2 Halesam] halesam
 3 in Italia] in alia, *corr. del.*

1

206, 4 ut] om.
 6 Laphirone] L. A. ualerone
(punctum post A, ad finem
lineae, delavit m. 2)
 venisset] evenisset
 9 civis Romanus] ciuis R.
 primariis] primaris, i *su-*
prascr. eras.
 11 H. S. deciens numeratum
 esse] ·IS·D. numerata
 esse
 12 posset] possit
 13 nobilissimorum equorum]
 nobilissimarum equarum
 14 argenti] *argenti
 stragulae] stagula, *corr. del.*
 15 direptum] dereumptum
 H. S. deciens Q. Dionem]
 IS. C. dionem
 16 venisset] uenissent, *corr.*
del.
 18 Anniae, P. Anni] anniae p.
 anni
 20 C. Sacerdote] ·C. sacerdote
 praetore
 22 ad Verrem] tum ad Verrem
(v. p. xxviii)
 existumatis] existimatis, u
suprascr. eras.
 27 putabat tamen] tamen pu-
 tabat
 29 repertum] reperitum
(v. p. xxxvii)
 aponit] adponit
 34 C. Sacerdote praetore] a
 sacerdote ·P. R.
 35 ipse praetor cum quaereret]
 ipse erycum quaereret
(v. p. xxviii)
 37 reperire] repperire
207, 2 a Dione] adioneo. *Vi-*
detur voluisse aliquis a
Dione hoc quod
 2, 3 licebat quam Venerem
 quod] *suppl.* (*corrector?*)
in margine sine quam

207, 4 Sex.] sexti
 Chlori] chiori
 testimonium recitem] est
 signum (transpositionis?)
 sup. lin. scriptum.
 5 egit Dionis] dionis egit
 6 civis] cives, i suprascr. eras.
 Romanus] R.
 9 ac pudentissimi] om.
 L. Caecili, L. Liguris, T.
 Manli, L. Caleni] L. uecili
 luciligrus T. manili .i.
 caleni
 10 testimoniis] testimonis, i
 suprascr. eras.
 11-14 Dixit hoc idem —
 cognosse] om. Spatium
 relicum est quattuor
 linearum: v. p. xxvi
 14 qui] expunxit m. 2
 17 questus] uestus
 18 et] om.
 hoc aures tuae] aures hoc
 tuae
 23 Recita] R
24 TESTIMONIA] TESTIMONIUM
 LUCULLI] IUCULLI
 CHLORI, DIONIS] CHIORE-
 DIONIS, E postea videtur
 voluisse in 1 mutare
24-6 Satisne vobis—profectus
 eset] om. Spatium re-
 lictum est trium linea-
 rum: v. p. xxvi
 28 impudentem] impudentem
 33 vigesimo] uicensimo
 tot interea praetores, tot
 quaestores] tot .P.R. tot
 .Q.
 35 ab his] abhis, m. 1: ab iis,
 m. 2: corr. del.
 petita est] petita non est
 Causam] abest
 36 Volcatium] uolcaciun
 fere ad HS cccc milia a]
 fere IS. XX a

208, 2 discederent] discerent,
 corr. del.
 5 calumniatores] calumnia-
 torem
 6 apponebat] adponebat
 Verres cognoscebat] suppl.
 (corrector?) in marg.
 10 Volcatio] volcacio: sed infra,
 II. 11, 13, uolcatio.
 12 H. S. cccc milia a] om.
 hominibus] nominibus, h
 suprascr. eras.
 Ecquis] equis, corr. del.
 15 H. S. quadringentiens ce-
 pissee] IS. CCC. cepisse
 16 ullum] ullam, corr. del.
 17 ob edicta] ob sedicta
 20 delecti] deiecti, corr. del.
 23 affinitate] adfinitate
 25 [tua] abest
 27 quoipam captum est] co-
 piam factum est
 28 numeratum iudicari] nu-
 meratum sit. An nu-
 meratum sit iud., i.e.
 iudices?
 32 convictus tam] om. Textus
 habet nemo umquam reus
 tam nocens perditus qui
 non, etc.: suppl. in marg.
 (corrector?) verba addu-
 cetur—posthac reus tam
 (v. p. xxvii)
 36 tam mihi isti] tam isti mihi
 videntur] uidetur

209, 1 magno opere] magnopere
 2 rem publicam] rem p.
 4 existumari] existimare, u et
 i suprascr. eras.
 5 comites nostros] nostros
 comites
 6 omnium] om.
 12 ea liberalitas] primo ealita,
 ilein ealitas: corr. del.

Fuit error per paralep-
 siam EALI[BERALI]TAS
209, 14 assectator] adsectator
 16 'Noli,' inquit] Nol[inquit
 20 impetrare] inpetrare
 23 [hoc illis]] om.
 beneficii] benefici
 25 iis] is, i suprascr. eras.
 30 iis] his
 Post verba cum sua cohorte, § 30
 multae amissae sunt paginae.
 Sumit denuo initium codex in
 verbis ac magnificentissime ges-
 sit § 112, ubi una tantum
 pagina superest
239, 37 rem publicam] rem p.
240, 3 revulsa] reuolsa
 4 eius] huius
 6 Cn.] .C.N.
 8 rem publicam] .Rem.P.
 9 cumque] cū quo, corr. del.
 10 ita a Cn.] ita .C.N.
 16 in rem publicam] in .R.P.
 17 cives] ciuus
 18 te praetore] te P.R.
 Siculus] sicuus, corr. del.
 19 ex oppido Thermis] ex op-
 pithermis, corr. del.
 21 nihil ex sacro] om.
 22 tu omnia] videtur primo tua
 omnia stetisse in codice
 23 vide] uidete
 24 agitantur] aguntur
 25 Verria] uerea, i suprascr.
 eras.
 cuius] cui
 26 Siciliae] sicilia
 28 patrono] patronus
 31 laudant te] laudante, corr.
 del.
 34 legati laedant] om.
 36 queruntur] quaeruntur

241, 1 Eryco] erico
 2 [furorum]] abest
 3 Stheni] sthenii

241, 4 ascriptum] adscriptū
 8 an tropaeum] antro pēum
 11 nequitiae] nequitia
 delectat] delectet
 13 hospitae] hospite (hospite,
 m. 1)
 14 sciri tum] scriptum
 17 statuit] statui, t̄ eras.
 18 Putarem] putaram
 19 si hoc] posse hoc
 Stheni] sthenii
 20 bonis] om.
 dedisses] dedisse
 26 rem publicam] rem p.
 29 singulariter] singulare
 Desinit iterum codex in verbis
 studiosissimum cupidissimum-
 que § 117: ad finem orationis
 pars superest quae a verbis
 Iam dudum enim mihi § 157
 usque ad verba hoc quidem
 certe manifestum § 183 conti-
 nenter legitur
257, 16-17 [utrum statuas—an
 coacti sint] *inest*
 23 ecquo] haec quo, *corr. del.*
 24 Novum] Noum, v *suprascr.*
 m. 2
 iudices] iud.
 30 arbitrentur] arbitrantur
 Rhodii] rhodi
 31 gesserunt] gesserint
 32 omnesque] omnisque
 copias acerrimumque] copia
 sacerrimumque, *corr. del.*
 33 classibusque] classique, *corr.*
del.
 exceperunt] exceperint
 35 ipsos] istos
258, 3 quandam] quendam
 5 homine] hominem
 8 soleat] solent
 9 eam] ea
 praetoris populi Romani]

P. R. = praetoris : *c.p.*
 in Cat. 250, 12
258, 13 hii] hii
 statuam] statum
 14 dubitaverunt] dubitarunt
 abiecta] ablecta (*v. p. xlivi*)
 15 quod] quid
 22 non] om.
 23 commune conventus] com-
 mone conuentus
 24 illic] illuc
 25 istius] illius
 33 impulsu] impulsu
 37 discessi] decessi
259, 2 C.] abest
 4 demolitio] molitio
 XXX] triginta
 5 ac] a[†]
 8 cum gravissimo] congruis-
 simo, *corr. del.*
 9 publice] publico
 Romam mandata] romam
 M. data, *corr. del.*
 10 id] om.
 14 x] decem
 19 prorsus] prosus
 21 statuae — essent] statua —
 esset (sed deiectae)
 22 vento] uenio, *corr. del.*
 26 hoc] haec
 28 inusserint] iniusserint, *corr.*
del.
 29 ac] om.
 30 cum populo Romano] cum
 P.R.
 31 rem publicam] rem p.
 33 dilexerit ea] detexerit E. A.
 35-36 laudarem illam civita-
 tem] laudarem illa decreta
 ciuitatem
 37 x milia civium] x ciuium
260, 1 omnes] omnis
 8 iacentes] iacentis
 10 hoc etiam] haec etiam

260, 11 quererer] quaererer
 12 iis] his
 13 ut vos] uos
 14 iis] his
 15 rebus] om.
 16 tam aperta] *Inter haec verba*
spatium relicturn est sex
fere litterarum
 17 obfuit] offugit
 18 qua] quā
 19 omnes] omnis
 25 HS viciens] HS 80.00
 27 est quantum] om.
 30 hii] hii
 31 inimicissimique] sunt] ini-
 mici sunt
 32 ac] ad
 33 At] ad
 37 Halicyenses] halycenses
261, 1 possum] possem, *corr.*
m. 1, ut videtur
 2 sive civium Romanorum]
 siue C.R.
 5 omnes mortales] omnis mor-
 talis
 8 aut] an
 10 [contemnendorum
 aratorum] *inest*
 15 appellare auderet] appellaret
 auderet
 videret] om.
 16 ab aratoribus] om.
 Siciliae] sicilia (*videtur e*
suprascr. et erasum esse)
 17 positas] om.
 19 eius] et eius
 20 Potes] Potest
 30 mea diligentia] me ad dili-
 gentiam, *corr. del.*
 37 ab eo umquam] abeo quā-
 quā, *corr. del.*
 discederet] discederat, *corr.*
del.
262, 1 iam] om.

262, 1 [familiaritatem]—[que]]
abest
 2 in] *om.*
 4 iis] his
 5 faenorij] foenori
 6 faeneratio] foeneratio
*eius modi iudices] huius
 modi iud.*
 7 iis] is
 11 faenerabatur] ferebatur
[primo] abest
 14 portu] portis
 18 Ita factum est] id actum est
 20 accidit] accedit
 27 antea] ante
 plane] ea plane (ut si poss&
 ea quae ante scriperat ea
 plane extinguer&)
 37 magnopere] magno opere

263, 3 caput] capud
 7 Verris] uerres, *corr. del.*
 10 expectatis] exspectatis
 11 affere] adferre
 12 in iudicium adducere. At
*quorum] in iudicium ad-
 ducere. ad ducere ad
 quorum*
 13 ii] hii
 15 [publicanorum iudicio]]
inest
 16 iudices] iud.
*de] videtur fuisse initio in
 cod. sed nunc eras.*
[ut—habeamus] inest
 18 equestri] sequestri, *corr. del.*
 21 iis] his
affuerunt] adfuerunt

263, 23 [istos] *inest*
 24 illius] istius
 25 Venient] ueniunt
 29 equites Romani] ·E·Q·R·
 31 vos] *om.*
 33 At vide] ATuide
 34 quid sociorum] *om.*

264, 4 iudici] judice
 6 plurimam stragulam] pluri-
 ma stragula
 7 supellectilem] suppellecti-
 lem
 10 misisse] misisset, *corr. del.*
L. Canuleium] T. canuleium
 11 daret. Satis] *om.* *Supple-
 vit, ut videtur, m. 2: corr.
 del.*
 12 Qui id defendet] quidefend&
 17 omnia] omnium
 18 mihi ista] ista mihi
 19 descend] discendo, *corr. del.*
*aequum] aecum (sed aequa
 in eodem versu)*
 20 testes] testis
 21 plures eodem tempore]
pluris eo tempore
 22 una adsint] una sint
 23 iuris iurandi] *post hoc ver-
 bum inest rasura in qua
 steterunt sedecim fere lit-
 terae*
 27 in istis] in isti
 31 mihi] et mihi
 33 credendum] cernendum

265, 2 populo Romano] ·P·R·
 3 vim nullius] *om.*

265, 5 mihimet si ne minimum]
mihim & sinemini Num
 12 decretumne sit.] decretum
nescit, corr. del.
 14 iam hoc me] me iam hoc
 16 [equites Romani]] ·E·Q·R·
 18 missas et] missas esse
 19 ab iis [equitibus Romanis]
ab his equitibus ·R.
 23 poterit] potuit
 25 condita] cognita
abdita] abdite
 26 videantur] uidebantur
 27 expectari] exspectari
investigare] inuestigari
 28 aut] ut, *corr. del.*
 33 usu] *est aliquid suprascr.*
eras.
 35 rationem] ratione, *corr. del.*
 36 deinde] dein

266, 1 quos] quas, *corr. del.*
 5 L. Vibium] L. iullum
equitem Romanum] ·E·Q·R·
 6 magistrum] magistratum
 8 improviso] improviso
 9 quaevisi] quaeuidi
 10 L. Canuleio] L. canilio
 11 mensum] mensum
 13 [haec]] *inest* (erant haec
 exeo dē generē)
 15 cupiebam] cupiam
 17 quicquid] quidquid
*quantulumcumque] quantu-
 lum*
*Deficit codex in verbis hoc quidem
 certe manifestum § 183*

